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CROWN AND EMPIRE



KING GEORGE VI AND QUEEN ELIZABETH
WITH THE PRINCESSES ELIZABETH AND MARGARET
A photograph taken in the Throne Room of Buckingham Palace immediately
after their Majesties' Coronation

CROWN AND EMPIRE

THE CORONATION OF
KING GEORGE VI

May 12, 1937



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P R E F A C E

THIS volume consists of three parts, of which the first and the last are reprinted from the Coronation Number of *The Times* published on May 11, 1937.

In Part I will be found a survey by Professor G. M. Trevelyan, O.M., and other authoritative writers of the place of the Monarchy in the British Constitution, and of the rite of coronation—its history, symbolism, and setting—with biographical studies of the present King and Queen.

Part II consists of an illustrated narrative, taken from *The Times* of May 13, 1937, of the Coronation of King George VI in Westminster Abbey and of the processions and celebrations in London on that occasion. This has been arranged so far as possible in the order of events and gives a vivid picture of Coronation Day in the heart of the Empire.

Part III commemorates the Centenary of the Accession of Queen Victoria, which falls in the same year as her great-grandson's Coronation. Mr. G. M. Young, in a study of England 100 years ago, examines the relations between Sovereign, Parliament, and people, and Mrs. Norah Richardson describes the costume of men and women of that day.

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KING AND PEOPLE

In the tumultuary life of princes—

Friends, it is stout old Samuel Johnson's phrase—
In the tumultuary life of princes

There is but sequence of laborious days.

Peace therefore guard this Prince through years ensuing,

And Love escort wherever Duty calls :

Neither Grace fail him for his strength's renewing,
But fend unsleeping Care from his four walls.

Goodwill rejoice in this his dedication—

To deeper hallowing no head may bow—
His seat a rock, the symbol of a nation,
Her tale of years the circle on his brow.

More—while throats roar and chimes ring from the steeples,

Let widening Wisdom frame a further phrase :
In the tumultuary life of peoples
Firm are the feet that tread the ancient ways.

C. W. B.

From "The Times," May 13, 1937

PART I
THE MONARCHY AND THE
RITE OF CORONATION



KING GEORGE VI

A photograph taken at Buckingham Palace by a staff photographer of *The Times*

KING GEORGE THE SIXTH

A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

LOOKING back over the events of the King's life before his Accession to the Throne we can trace the impress of a strongly marked character. Without Prince Albert's pluck and perseverance, without the capacity for minute and patient study which he carried into every new sphere of activity, and without his keen, unswerving sense of duty they would show a very different shape.

On the threshold of manhood he knew the kind of frustration that has disheartened many who are now his subjects. He wanted to be the sailor son of a sailor. His training ashore and afloat did not differ from that given to other naval cadets of his generation, and he had the gratification and the honour of serving with distinction at the Battle of Jutland. Then, by the accident of temporary ill-health, he was forced to relinquish the profession which aptitude and hard work had made his own. Undiscouraged, and still determined to serve his country in arms, he turned to the air, and in the new Service his enthusiasm and concentration won for him merited promotion. When the War ended Prince Albert once more refocused his energies, this time upon the problems of peace. He went up to Cambridge, and while in residence there as an undergraduate trained himself to undertake the work which for many years was to colour his manifold and multiform activities—the promotion of industrial welfare. Everything he did bore the mark of conscientiousness and revealed qualities which were an assurance that he would shrink from no task, however arduous, unexpected, or undesired, that the country might call upon him to perform.

He succeeded to the Throne just before his forty-first birthday. He was born at York Cottage on December 14, 1895. Within what Mr. Hansell, his tutor, called “the shadow of the great house,” he and his brothers lived the life of normal English boys, with plenty of exercise, plenty

of instruction, and not without high-spirited interludes of practical joking which sparkle yet in the memory of elderly courtiers. Much of his boyhood had a country setting. To watch him at his annual boys' camp is to realize how much he must have enjoyed his early games of football with the village boys at Sandringham. The straight eye which was to serve him in all kinds of sport made him something of a bowler, and it should be recorded that once, at Windsor, he performed the "hat trick," an event memorable even in the life of a prince.

His direct service to the State began when he was 14 years old. At Osborne and Dartmouth over a period of four years he learned as an ordinary cadet what the Navy requires of its chosen servants. A fighting ship had already become an engine-room more or less, and engineering studies had even more space in the curriculum than seamanship. These studies the Prince turned to practical account when he came to stand in a special relation to industry. From classroom and workshop he proceeded to quarter-deck and engine-room platform, setting out, when just 18 years old, for the then customary cruise in the Cumberland, sharing the life and duty of his messmates in the gun-room, working and playing and dancing in the West Indies, Canada, and Newfoundland. In Ottawa he caught measles and influenza, indispositions apparently trifling but destined to affect his health for a few crucial years and to rob him of his chosen profession. When war broke out, however, his hopes of an active sea career were still high. Exactly a year before he had been gazetted as midshipman in the Collingwood, and that appointment he held when he began his War service with the Grand Fleet. "All his work was done cheerfully and well," says one who served with him, "but perhaps best of all was the way he handled the picket boat when he was in charge of her, while he was more than a good hand at the sailing races." In gun-room and ward-room he answered to the name of "Mr. Johnston." It was Mr. Johnston who was on duty as a sub-lieutenant in the fore-turret of the Collingwood at Jutland, made cocoa for the gun crew, and carried himself during the action with a coolness and courage which earned Jellicoe's commendation. One of

KING GEORGE THE SIXTH

his most precious possessions to-day is the white ensign which the Collingwood was flying when she helped to cripple the Derfflinger. But the gastric trouble, which had first declared itself with appendicitis, was obstinate, and between 1914 and 1917 the Prince was invalidated four times. At length, after more than one operation, it became clear that he must abandon his hopes of the sea.

He did not take his disappointment lying down. Just as soon as he was convalescent he got himself appointed to the Royal Naval Air Station at Cranwell, then eager to secure the services of young and well-trained naval officers, and was in due course absorbed into the Royal Air Force with rank of captain gained by close application to his new duties. The War was nearly over, but the Armistice found the Prince at R.A.F. headquarters in France. It was in the uniform of an Air Force Staff officer that he accompanied the late King Albert of the Belgians and his Queen on their triumphal return to Brussels after four years of exile. He remained in Belgium under ordinary Service conditions till February of the following year, and then, curious as to the ways of a Government Department, he became attached to the Air Ministry, passing through so many sub-departments in a short time, he said afterwards, that he felt like a buff slip marked "Passed to you for action, please." In the spring he trained for a pilot's certificate, and succeeded in winning his wings in July. On August 1 he was granted a permanent commission as flight lieutenant, and was a wing commander on July 1, 1920, when his active duty ceased.

Meanwhile he was taking an ever-increasing share in the duties of the Royal House. Observers noted that the problems of industry and the welfare of boys particularly attracted him ; noted, also, that his interest in such matters was a keenly practical one. In October, 1919, he went with his brother Prince Henry into residence at Trinity College, Cambridge—one of that strange generation of undergraduates from schools where, as Kipling wrote, "the teachers were the horned mine and the humped-back death below." It surprised no one that Prince Albert should choose as the subjects of his special course history,

economics, and civics. The choice had been implicit in the general run of his recent activities. While still at the university he missed no opportunity to reinforce theoretic learnings with practical experience. He contrived to make the public duties which fell to him during the absence on Empire tours of the Prince of Wales serve his private studies. Wherever and whenever possible he sought contact with workers at work. In the next few years the figure of the young sailor was to fall swiftly into the background ; his place was taken by that of "the industrial Prince."

Soon after he left the university he was "raised to the peerage," being created Duke of York in June, 1920, and at once taking his seat in the House of Lords. At the time of his marriage with Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon three years later—a marriage all the more popular for the manifest fact that it was a love match—he was already a recognized leader in the movement to promote welfare in industry. The newspapers showed him now at this factory, now at that, all over the United Kingdom ; down a coal-mine in Wales ; driving an engine or a tramcar ; opening a laboratory or an infirmary ; speaking to schoolboys or to working men's clubs. There were distinct unifying features in the generalized picture of his activities ; a definite personality emerged which, for all its unassuming qualities, commanded respect and affection. The public felt, and truly, that here was a serious student of social conditions anxious to get through the vesture of ceremony to raw facts and unsolved problems. Reporters who followed him through factories and workshops grew a little tired of hearing from managers and workmen to whom he had spoken that his questions were on the mark ; for such questions do not make good "copy." Moreover, his rate of progress along miles of machinery sometimes upset the time-table of a crowded day. Complicated processes interested him, and he would make sure that he understood what was explained to him. To pass on before he had done so would have been, to his thinking, a waste of time. But those he questioned were delighted by his patient desire to understand their work and their special difficulties, and it was not long before all classes of the community knew that in the third gentleman of the land they had a



KING GEORGE
when he was 10 years old



THE KING AND QUEEN



"The Industrial Prince," as the King was known before his accession, leading the bathing parade at one of his holiday camps

practical idealist, sympathetic, well informed, widely and persistently curious.

In the early days of the Industrial Welfare Society, one of the few good things begotten by the War, he was its president, and he materially helped it to become a very powerful agent in the work that he described as "cementing that fellowship between individuals in all walks of industry, irrespective of class or occupation, which is the backbone of Imperial progress." His help was given in frequent visits to factories and workshops to see the operation of welfare schemes and judge of their effects, but what may be called his own contribution to the society's teaching has been his insistence from Cambridge days to the present, that industrial efficiency is really founded on happiness in work. That belief ran inspiringly through all the Duke's dealings with industry. A man "must find satisfaction in his work and take a pride in the part he plays in the firm." So he preferred his contacts with employers and employed to be as informal as possible. The show side of things was sometimes necessary ; but he was happier in overalls, on the footplate, or at the coal-face. There in an hour he would learn more of actual working conditions and more of what kind of men the workers were than a week of formal contacts could impart.

It was characteristic of his idealism and of his practicality that he should look for the ultimate fulfilment of his hopes to the younger generation. When the first "Duke of York's Holiday Camp" brought together 200 young workers from firms belonging to the Industrial Welfare Society and 200 public school boys the scheme seemed slightly odd to many people, who could see in it nothing likely to be of lasting value. But the boys soon made the holiday camp into a fellowship obviously rich in leavening consequences, and to-day, fifteen years later, the founder—for the original idea was entirely his own—can have no clearer proof of the success of his experiment than in the number of schools and firms which have organized similar camps. The Duke was only once prevented (by indisposition) from visiting the camp of the year. It was an annual engagement which he thoroughly enjoyed. The boys always treated him as one of themselves, and, as though indeed he were, he joined



THE QUEEN
from a miniature painted in 1906



HER MAJESTY
when she was 17 years old



Employees of a steelworks in Sheffield cheering the Queen during one of her visits to the industrial North

wholeheartedly in their bathing parades, their games, their "rags," and the customary sing-song round the camp fire. Alert and vigorous, he delighted in thus renewing his own boyhood and studying at the same time the working out of a favourite principle.

It was the principle of the personal touch—applied to the camps in the knowledge that the boy, no matter to what class he may belong, is the father of the State, and to the problems of employers, officials and workers in the faith that the development of a relationship in industry is the hope of the future. From 1924 onwards the Duke was given the opportunity to carry the same principle into the sphere of Imperial relations. In 1922 and 1923 he had represented the King, his father, at State ceremonials at Belgrade and Bucharest, but the African tour which he and the Duchess began at the end of 1924 was the first time since his naval days that he had visited distant parts of the Empire. The journey was comparatively unexacting in the matter of ceremonial, but the Duke, by this time a trained observer, was deeply impressed by what he saw of administrative and native life in Kenya Colony, Uganda, and the Sudan. The Empire is not to be discovered by hearsay ; its significance breaks afresh upon every traveller, however familiar with the stories of those who have preceded him he may be ; and in the light of his African experience it was with eagerness that two years later the Duke undertook the arduous mission to Australia and New Zealand, which had for its primary purpose the opening of the new Parliament buildings at Canberra. He was accompanied by the Duchess, and their journey beyond the curve of the world, with its varied incidents, was followed with close attention by people at home who had come to realize the important part which the personal touch of Royalty plays in strengthening the ties of Empire. They were entirely successful in their mission, storing and leaving happy memories at every point of the grand tour, and were enthusiastically welcomed back to London in June, 1927, after an absence of six months.

Circumstances conspired against further Empire travel. State occasions called the Duke to France and Germany, Belgium and Norway, but duties at home continued to

KING GEORGE THE SIXTH

multiply, and the succeeding years were crowded with engagements in all parts of England, Scotland, and Wales. For Scotland, as was natural in one who had found his bride in an ancient Scottish family, the Duke entertained a special sentiment which was heartily reciprocated. He was the first member of the Royal Family to attend the General Assembly of Scotland since the day when James VI of Scotland removed his Court to London. He appeared there in 1919 as Lord High Commissioner. He represented his father at the Jubilee celebrations in Edinburgh, and last year he was made a freeman of the city during a visit at which he was nominated and installed as Grand Master Mason of Scotland. As president of the British Empire Cancer Campaign he has been indefatigable in his efforts to promote the progress of research, and after the death of King George V many of the presidencies of hospitals formerly held by the Prince of Wales were accepted by the Duke, who devoted a great deal of his time during the months which followed in visiting each in turn. But in face of steadily accumulating responsibilities he always contrived, so long as he was Duke of York, to let the accent of his ceaseless activities fall on youth and the organization of good will in industry. His work as chairman of the Advisory Council formed to assist in administering King George's Jubilee Trust he found peculiarly congenial, as the Trust was to benefit young persons in the distressed areas. And one of the last tours made before his accession found him on Tyneside, in overalls, hewing coal and loading, as eagerly as ever, a memory acknowledged to be remarkable with first-hand impressions of work and workers.



QUEEN ELIZABETH AND HER CHILDREN

A FOREIGN visitor, who was present at the laying of a foundation-stone by the Queen while she was still the Duchess of York, remarked : " I suppose Her Royal Highness has laid many foundation-stones. Yet she seems this afternoon to be discovering a new and delightful occupation." This rare faculty for absorption in an occasion, the Queen's most conspicuous attribute, has deep roots. If it sprang not from nature but from art it would sometimes be wanting ; and those privileged to accompany the Queen on her varied social and charitable occasions all testify to the never-failing quality of her responsiveness. Whatever she may be called upon to do, they say, echoing the French visitor, she seems always to be doing it for the first time, and friends who have known her from childhood explain that this unaffected interest in everything is produced by the alchemy of a singularly happy temperament and a mind schooled to serve in small things as in great. One of these friends said of her that she possessed " an unselfish nature, simple and affectionate ; a mind and character incapable of unkindness of thought or action ; a complete lack of affectation or pose ; a candid sincerity and an ingrained gentleness." She was thus described on the eve of her marriage, and the years between have reflected the essential truth of the picture. If her personality, as her subjects have learned to know it, could be summed up in a single epithet, that epithet would be " radiant."

Fourteen years ago the public knew practically nothing about Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon. She was the youngest daughter of the Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne, the fourteenth earl of his line, and had lived quietly at home.



QUEEN ELIZABETH
A photograph taken shortly before the Coronation

“Home,” at any rate in the early years, was not historic Glamis, which Lady Elizabeth and her brothers looked upon in childhood as a holiday place. Streatham Castle in Durham, another country seat of the family, was a “visit,” but home was St. Paul’s Waldenbury, a comely red-brick Queen Anne house, much grown upon by magnolia and honeysuckle, in pleasant Hertfordshire. Here were all things that children could desire—dogs and tortoises, Persian kittens and “Bobs,” the Shetland pony, hay to make, chickens to feed, an enchanted wood at the bottom of the garden, a friendly stillroom, the attic of a tumbledown brew house to play truant in, bullfinches to tame, fields to roam, flowers to love, ripe apples to drop, providentially, about the head, and, on wet days, the books that are best read on the floor in front of the fire, and a wonderful chest full of period costumes and the wigs that went with their gorgeousness. The child, then, as now, *petite*, with dark hair and eyes intensely blue, was educated at home under the supervision of her mother, whose literary taste she inherited, and quickly became proficient in French and German, music and drawing. She grew up with the wholesome natural tastes of a lively English girl, dancing, playing lawn tennis, and riding, and from earliest days instinctively exercised those graces which distinguish the born hostess.

Her tranquil childhood ended on her fourteenth birthday—August 4, 1914. From the box of a London theatre she looked down that night on a singing, cheering audience, and within a few days four of her brothers had joined the Army. She remembers the collapse of schoolroom routine and “the bustle of hurried visits to chemists for outfits of every sort of medicine and to gunsmiths to buy all the things that people thought they wanted for a war and then found they didn’t.” A week later she went up to Glamis, which was already a hospital and remained so till some months after the War, and for the next four years she conspired assiduously with her parents to make relays of soldiers feel that they were not hospital patients but guests. The humorist who vowed that on next going into action he would wear the label “Please return to Glamis Castle” hit off sufficiently well the spirit of the place. The War,

which interrupted Lady Elizabeth's normal education, was itself an education in those qualities of self-sacrifice and thoughtfulness for others which characterized her as she grew to womanhood. The Strathmores were spared neither the anxieties nor the sorrows common to the time. Four sons of the house were in the line, and one of them, Fergus, fell in action ; another, Michael, was taken prisoner and for long believed dead.

The future Queen and her husband had met as children at a party of Lady Leicester's, and in 1920 she was hostess at Glamis, during her mother's illness, to a house party which included Prince Albert and also his sister, Princess Mary, whose intimate friend she was and whose bridesmaid she was to be. On January 16, 1923, King George and Queen Mary announced the betrothal "with the greatest pleasure." Little as the public knew of the bride they hoped much—how much was shown by the Empire-wide rejoicing at the wedding, which took place in Westminster Abbey on April 26, 1923. The succeeding years have seen those hopes splendidly fulfilled. At once the Duchess of York bore her rank as if it had been hers by right of birth. She took her place simply and naturally in the ever-expanding public life of her husband. He was especially interested in the social welfare of men and boys ; she did similar work among women and girls. While he went over factories and workshops and shipyards, she was unwearied in visiting maternity centres, girls' clubs, and housing colonies. They were together all over the United Kingdom and Ulster, crowding their days with beneficent duties, obviously happy in their strenuous work and in each other, and whether she was happier gracing State ceremonies in London, Edinburgh, and Belfast, or equipped with a handkerchief drawn over her hair, to go down a Durham coalmine, there were no means of determining. That special faculty for absorption in the occasion never deserted her. On safari in Africa, or helping to make Imperial history in Australia and New Zealand, driving in the glittering Jubilee procession to St. Paul's, or passing down a children's guard of honour at the St. Dunstan's Fun Fair, the Duchess appeared always to be radiantly a part of her surroundings. Her personal charm

triumphed as easily in the mining camps of the Antipodes as in the cottages of Deeside. The nation's appreciation of what she accomplished on her Empire tour was deepened by the knowledge that, in order that she might accompany the Duke on his mission, she had gallantly accepted the hard necessity of losing half a year of her daughter's endearing babyhood. It was only natural that there should be at every halt in the Royal progress heaps of presents for the Princess Elizabeth. They were found in the end to weigh nearly three tons. No doubt some of these toys were shared with the Princess Margaret Rose, who was born in 1930 and enjoys with her elder sister a special place in the affections of the public.

With the Empire's high hopes for the future of the gracious Scottish girl who was to become the Duchess of York went warm wishes for the happiness of the young lovers. Hopes and wishes alike have come to fulfilment. No subject who has seen them together will be surprised to hear, on the authority of those who have enjoyed their friendship, that their home life is exceptionally happy. For manifestly they have both a disposition to happiness and the power to communicate it.

Princess Elizabeth and Princess Margaret will never be able to recall a time when they were not public characters. The friendly interest taken in them before they could walk has deepened into affection, and to-day people of all degrees in many countries are as eager for news about them as for scraps about their own favourite nieces. Undoubtedly they are the two most popular children in the world.

It is possible, however, that for much longer than most of their admirers suppose the Princesses were unaware of the singularity of their position. In such scraps of information as are available there is nothing but what is charming, but it amounts to very little, for the Queen, remembering the happiness of her own quiet childhood in Hertfordshire, has not let the exalted responsibilities to which her daughters were born cloud their early years. Infant Tudors and Royal children of much later periods had maturity thrust upon them. That dreadful fate has never threatened these Princesses. At most times when the

crowds catch glimpses of them they are passing between their London home and some country seat. It may be Glamis or Balmoral, Sandringham, Windsor, or St. Paul's Waldenbury, but changes of scene cause no break in the happy tenor of their home life. They are encouraged to enjoy these places in the way that most little girls would enjoy them, and that is one reason why, whenever they appear with their parents at State functions or at some spectacular entertainment suited to their years and taste, they make such an entirely pleasing impression. One glance at their merry, enterprising faces serves to show that the Princesses are children yet ; and that is how the public would have them be.

The chief responsibility which has so far fallen on Princess Elizabeth is the care of her younger sister. She was already four years old on that August night in 1930 when she was lifted up to see through the window the blaze of the great bonfire lit at Glamis to celebrate the birth of Princess Margaret, and ever since she has been to her sister what her mother was to her younger brother—an inseparable and charmingly protective companion. Long before the bonfire—before her first birthday—she had, unknowingly, gained special prominence in the public mind by reason of her parents' journey to the other side of the world, and she made her first real public appearance radiant in the arms of her radiant mother on the balcony of Buckingham Palace when at last the long journey had ended. The great events of the next few years were birthday parties and birthday gifts, with a Shetland pony from the King to mark the fourth. At about the same time she paid a brief, exciting visit to the Royal Tournament at Olympia. On her sixth birthday the people of Wales presented her with " Y Bwythynn Bach To Gwellt " (The Little House with the Straw Roof), a model cottage, habitable, daintily and completely furnished, and equipped with every modern device for cooking and housekeeping. It was also provided with a fire insurance policy—which was lucky, for it caught fire in transit and suffered serious but not irreparable damage.

After the sixth birthday the compliments paid to the Princess assume a certain grandeur. Newfoundland set her



THE KING AND QUEEN WITH THEIR DAUGHTERS, THE PRINCESSES ELIZABETH AND MARGARET

portrait on a six cent stamp, and a stretch of Empire in the farthest south was christened Princess Elizabeth Land. A song was written in her honour, her portrait hung in the Academy, and no one knows how many manufactured wares are known by her name. But compliments, however grand, are hardly events. At any rate, they tell us less than we can learn by glancing at the things which have interested her. With her sister she shares a love of animals ; and of all animals, dogs (particularly the golden Labradors of Glamis) and horses (particularly the Shetland pony) are the most fascinating. She has a natural eye for pageantry, and one year she went to the Military Tournament, the Horse Show, and the Tattoo, boasting afterwards of her luck. The starfish-shaped little wood at St. Paul's Waldenbury appeared to her, as once to her mother, the illimitable haunt of fairies, and her favourite books, "Alice," "Black Beauty," "At the Back of the North Wind," "Peter Pan," and the rest, were chosen to support her faith in fairies and her interest in animals. The Queen does not believe in too much organized entertainment for the young, and the few parties the Princess attends are the more enjoyable. Taught by her mother, she could read at the age of six with unusual fluency and expressiveness. She has learned to swim and to ride well ; she cultivates her own garden at Royal Lodge ; and, to complete the features of a normal English education, there are the lessons—French, literature, history, geography, Latin, arithmetic, music, drawing, and dancing. Princess Margaret follows her sister at the distance appropriate to her age. She is a most winning and attractive child, with a marked character of her own. As a playmate she has one invaluable gift—a talent for mimicry ; as a pupil she is perhaps chiefly distinguished by a passion for music and an ear for notes remarkable in one so young.

THE MONARCHY AND THE CONSTITUTION

BY PROFESSOR G. M. TREVELYAN, O.M.

THE British Empire is held together by a Constitutional Monarchy, which is none other than the old Constitutional Monarchy of England married to the old Monarchy of Scotland and extended to embrace new nations oversca. It owes its constitutional character not to any single event or movement but to a process of growth at least as old as the Norman Conquest. We might, indeed, look back still farther, to the Saxon Kings under whom the Realm of England and its shires came into existence, most of all to Alfred, the greatest of our Kings, who in his life and character seems an English Constitution in himself.

Our Monarchy did not, like some others in Europe, "become constitutional" by granting a charter at some recent date, like 1789 or 1848. The growth of the Monarchy and the growth of the Constitution have in England been one and the same long and complicated process. That process of institutional growth, due more to expedience than to theory, begins with the embryo of our Constitution, the Court and councils of the Norman Kings, whence evolved a hundred new and more specialized bodies—Plantagenet Law Courts, Edwardian Parliament, Tudor Privy Council, Hanoverian Cabinet, Victorian Civil Service, Dominion Parliaments. Thus on one side the growth of our Constitution is a story of differentiation of functions of the Royal Service adjusted to national needs, the creation by the King of new organs of law, counsel or power, each of which develops its own traditions and soon gets its own independent life. But all derive from the Crown, though they may strike other roots and contract other loyalties as well.

The essence of our Constitution is law, respected and enforced ; and the development of our native law and Law Courts, and of the High Court of Parliament, is the great accomplishment of the medieval English Kings and their servants. The peculiarly English traditions of our common law owe their origins to the French-speaking Kings and their French-speaking lawyers—for England after the Conquest was for centuries closely allied through the Monarchy with West-European civilization. As Maitland wrote :

How shall one write a single sentence about law without using some such word as *debt, contract, heir, trespass, pay, money, court, judge, jury*? But all these words have come to us from the French. In all the world-wide lands where English law prevails, homage is done daily to William of Normandy and Henry of Anjou.

The King's Courts and the King's Judges gradually substituted our "common law" for local customs and private jurisdictions. The process was popular with the humble subjects of the land, for the "King's peace" was the opponent of feudal violence and oppression, and the King's justice was better than that of feudal jurisdictions.

Within a generation of the Conquest there was political cooperation between the Norman Kings and their Saxon subjects against the Norman Baronage. But the affair was more complicated than that. The Barons, too, had ere long their own appeal to the people as against the King—witness Magna Carta and Simon de Montfort. And on the flank, as another independent party, stood the Church. It was this happy balance of forces which prevented medieval England from becoming either a feudal anarchy or a monarchical despotism.

And out of this balance of forces gradually emerged Parliament. First summoned by the King to counsel him, inform him and strengthen his administrative system by putting it in touch with the localities, Parliament becomes also a battleground of political forces. In Plantagenet times the Commons are little more than mutes and audience to the act, and the real forces that contend both in and out of Parliament are nobles and King, each side appealing with alternate success to elements of popular opinion, and each using Parliament as the instrument of their rival ambitions.

This balance of forces and balance of legal rights rendered England what we should now call a "constitutional monarchy." It had always been so in theory as well as in practice. Bracton in the reign of Henry III had written that the King was made by the law and was under the law, although he was also God's representative. In the fifteenth century Fortescue and other writers set out the limits of kingly power in England. But the same epoch witnessed the partial breakdown of the system in the Wars of the Roses. The forces, indeed, were too well balanced. There was need of more authority, and that could only be obtained by strengthening the Crown. And so under the Tudors, if not already under Edward IV, arose what is sometimes called "the new monarchy," governing by a reorganized Privy Council that represented the King's power and not that of the nobles.

Then the Crown proceeded to annex the Church, thereby adding greatly to its own power. At that point of time we might expect to find the greatest danger to the constitutional character of the Monarchy. Why should the Pope-Emperor Henry VIII have had further need of Parliaments? That century saw the decay of medieval estates and Parliaments in other lands like France and Spain; why not in ours also? Yet, in fact, the English Reformation strengthened Parliament even more than it strengthened the Crown.

It is indeed a fact of the first importance that Henry VIII, the most wilful but not the least wise of our Kings, did more for Parliament than any other person in our history. His father, Henry VII, and his own first great Minister Wolsey had seldom summoned Parliament; until the breach with Rome the two Houses seemed, like other European Parliaments, to be declining, perhaps towards ultimate extinction. But Henry VIII, in the middle of his reign, decided to use Parliament as his instrument and accomplice in the destruction of the Papal power, the spoliation of the monasteries, and the subordination of the medieval liberties of the Church to the laity and above all to the Crown. He had no standing Army, and without the general acquiescence of his subjects and the support of their more influential classes Henry could not have carried



QUEEN ELIZABETH IN PARLIAMENT
T. Charlton, B. Marquess, Eade & C. Broun, D. Bishop, F. D. E. F. Hake, J. Lamer, G. and W. Spalman, C. G. and F. G. K. Sargent, A. Jones, L. Members of the Committee, J. and M. F. F. F. Wal, and others, 1629-30

QUEEN ELIZABETH AND HER PARLIAMENT
The frontispiece to D'Ewes's "Journals of the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth" compiled in 1629-30

THE MONARCHY AND THE CONSTITUTION

through this immense revolution. He found in Parliament, particularly in the Commons, the expression of that popular support he required. To be despot himself he raised up in Parliament a force that was destined to prevent his successors from being despots.

In Elizabeth's reign her father's system was continued, in an air somewhat less harsh and much more inspiring. The union of Crown and people was cemented by the struggle with Spain and adventure oversea, and by the enjoyment of the Queen's Peace within the island, when the rest of Europe was torn with religious war. Elizabeth "reigned with our loves," and that was the chief pride of the wise, hard woman.

By the Acts of Henry and Elizabeth the Crown in Parliament had proved its omnicompetence to alter old law and custom even in matters of religion. But what if the Crown and the Houses of Parliament were to differ? In such a case was the Crown or was the House of Commons to "settle religion"? To Elizabeth the answer was clear, and she maintained the Crown's control of religious policy so long as she lived. She was thus able, in despite of a more Puritan House of Commons, to give us the Church of England of the middle way, destined to play a great part in the Constitution of succeeding eras.

In the decisive struggle between Crown and Houses of Parliament under the Stuarts, the constitutional issue that raised the passions leading to civil war was precisely this question whether King or House of Commons was to choose the religion of the country. But there were other questions constitutionally of scarcely less importance; could the King find money to govern without perpetual resort to the votes of the Commons? Could the Houses of Parliament control "the armed forces of the Crown"? Were the Prerogative Courts (Star Chamber, &c.) to be rivals of the Common Law Courts? Were the Judges to be servants of the King's will, or impartial arbiters on points of law between him and his subjects?

The Civil War arose out of heats engendered by these questions, but above all out of the question of religion, in an age when the idea of toleration for dissenters was

repudiated alike by Anglican Crown and by Puritan Parliament. The Civil War and its Cromwellian sequel gave only general and rather negative decisions, but those were of prime importance. Naseby rendered Royal absolutism impossible ; it rendered the extinction of the Puritan sects impossible ; and by enabling the House of Commons to wage great wars with success and to usurp for years the executive powers of the Crown, it accustomed Englishmen to be governed by Parliament. But the form that Parliamentary government should ultimately take was not worked out by the Roundhead victors. Their victory led to a destruction of the rights of Parliament and Law which they had drawn sword to save and enlarge. Indeed the desired solution could only be reached when there was a King who would consent to obey the general will of the House of Commons, and so enable Parliament to control the Executive without directly usurping its functions. Charles I could not be such a King, nor was the House of Commons that won the war a body whom any King, or indeed any large section of his subjects, could willingly have obeyed.

So there followed the interlude of the Cromwellian Protectorate ; it saved England from anarchy and the Empire from disruption, but it left only negative marks on the future of our constitutional history. It made the idea of an uncrowned Republic permanently unpopular ; it attached the people once more to the old forms of the Constitution ; and it made a standing army hateful, most of all among the Royalist classes, who might otherwise have been most tempted to connive at a kingly power based on the sword.

The Restoration was, in its constitutional aspect, the dethronement of the military power and the return of King, Parliament, and Law together, regarded most happily as “a common interest.” But the Restoration necessarily left so much unsettled that the old frictions soon began again. The Prerogative Courts were gone and un-Parliamentary taxation was no longer attempted, but there were still two rival powers each regarding itself as ultimately supreme, the Court at Whitehall and the Commons at Westminster, with the House of Lords

holding the balance. The High Anglican and Cavalier Parliament was soon wielding the cudgel of Pym, dragooning Charles II to persecute his subjects about religion, and keeping him short of money because they could not fully control the uses to which he put it. After the Cavalier Parliament followed the yet more recalcitrant Whig Parliaments led by Shaftesbury, who seemed to be heading back to the methods and spirit of 1642, attempting to lay hands on the executive power by direct usurpation and threatening the country with another Civil War.

So there followed the Royalist reaction at the end of Charles II's reign. Parliament again appeared, as after the Wars of the Roses, to be retreating to a back place in the Constitution. For several years no Parliament met, and the dominant Tory Party proclaimed as its prime tenet the extreme doctrine of non-resistance to the King, even, so they declared, in case of a tyrant who should break all the laws and persecute the Church like Nero. James II speedily put their new theories to ordeal by fire, and they melted like wax. The Tories took as active a part as the Whigs in the brief campaign that ended in the King's flight to France.

If James had been allowed to establish his claim to suspend the laws wholesale, our Constitution could only have developed into an absolutism on the Continental model of which Louis XIV was then so brilliant an example—and sooner or later our Monarchy would, by the same road as the French, have reached a like catastrophe. The Conservative English Revolution made our shores safe from the invasion of the doctrines of destructive revolution in a later age. The rhythm of slow constitutional change was resumed—Crown, Parliament, Law each again in its place.

But their respective places were no longer the same as before. The Revolution Settlement definitely put the Law above the King, and thereby put Parliament above the King, because Parliament can change the Law and the King alone cannot. Nor has any King, since James II, tried to break the Law.

The Monarchy, therefore, took in 1689 a newly defined and a reduced place in the Constitution. The divine, indefinite claims of Prerogative were heard of no more. The King's title to the Crown was henceforth an Act of Parliament. The King by divine hereditary right was an exile in foreign lands.

Nevertheless the King's Power was still very great. He distributed all honours and all posts in Army and State ; he appointed the Bishops. He was still the head of the Executive, not merely in name but in fact. William III may be said to have acted as his own Prime Minister and his own Foreign Minister. The men of 1689 never dreamt of compelling him to fill up his Cabinet with the chiefs of the party dominant in the Commons. William and Anne after him chose their own Ministers from both parties or from no party, and presided in person at the meetings of these mixed Cabinets.

But experience soon changed this practice. William and Anne each in turn found themselves compelled, as their reigns went on, more and more to choose Cabinet Ministers from the party dominant in the Commons House of the day, and to adapt their policies to the advice of such Ministers. If they neglected to do this, the Commons became unmanageable, and, after the Revolution, the Commons had to be managed. By the time of Walpole the new system was stereotyped, the more so as George I, not speaking English, ceased to attend his own Cabinets and the "Prime Minister" took his place in the Chair.

By this process, dictated not by theory but by practical expedience, the modern system of the party Cabinet gradually grew up ; thus was established the control of Parliament over the Executive, without the actual usurpation of the King's executive functions by either House of Legislature. This was the solution that had been sought in vain in the days of Charles I and the Long Parliament. The King's confidential servants who exercised the executive power were henceforth to be the men leading the Houses of Parliament and approved by the majority in the Commons House.

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But even under the modern Cabinet system as established by Walpole and the Pitts, the King retained not inconsiderable powers. The key to Cabinet government was the majority of the House of Commons. And in the reigns of the first four Georges the borough representation was so corrupt that the majority of the Commons were not responsible to any real constituent bodies, so that members (or their patrons who had put them in the House) could dispose of their votes to the best personal advantage. Such a House of Commons could be "managed" by the distribution of the patronage of the Crown. The first two Georges allowed those Whig Ministers whom they approved to distribute the Crown patronage for this purpose. In this way Walpole and Newcastle after him bought a majority each for himself. But Walpole and Newcastle owed their Premierships largely to the personal choice of the King. Even under the first two Georges the Crown had some real power in the choice of its servants.

Then George III tried to re-enlarge the Royal power, while strictly observing the letter of the law as fixed at the Revolution. He resumed into his own hands the distribution of the Royal patronage, and so bought himself a majority of "King's friends" in the Commons. Lord North, as Prime Minister, had therefore to take his orders from the King on all questions of high policy. The Prime Minister for a few years lost his independence and became the personal servant of the Monarch.

After the loss of the American Colonies George III's "personal government" came to an end as a failure. Under the younger Pitt the early Hanoverian Constitution as it had been under Walpole was firmly re-established. Under Walpole it had been called Whig, under Pitt it was called Tory, but it was almost precisely the same system. It remained unchanged until 1832. The King no longer controlled the Prime Minister as he had controlled Lord North, but he still retained in practice a veto on measures he abhorred, like Catholic Emancipation, and on Ministers he disapproved, like Fox. Until 1832 the power of the Crown was an important asset of the High Tory Party, and

when, after Waterloo, High Toryism became unpopular, the Crown became unpopular too.

The Reform Bill brought in a new era for the Monarchy, as for so many other institutions. By creating real constituent bodies that could call to account the members they elected, the Bill put a stop to the system by which the Commons could be "managed" by the distribution of Crown patronage. It made popular opinion the decisive factor in politics. The Monarchy therefore lost power. William IV's attempt to turn out the Whigs by his own act in 1834 was a repetition of George III's similar attempt in 1783 and in 1807. But whereas George had succeeded William failed. Three years later Victoria came to the Throne, to be indoctrinated by Melbourne in a new theory of the place of the Crown in the Constitution, a place not of power but of influence and of high symbolism.

The Monarchy was in fact a gainer by the change. Instead of a little power, occasionally exercised at the expense of great unpopularity, the Monarch, by retiring from politics, acquired an immense popularity outside, and retained important influence behind the scenes. The new popularity of the Monarch was proved at the Jubilees of Victoria and of George V. The new English Democracy is in love with the Crown. Radicalism, founded by Tom Paine in the days of George III, had had strong Republican tendencies, but they had withered away as the Crown retired from politics. The modern Labour Party has no quarrel with the English Monarchy.

The symbolic importance of the Monarch has greatly increased even in our own day. The Crown is the one symbol that all classes and parties can without reservation accept.

Moreover, the Crown is now the sole symbol of the unity of the Empire. The Dominions, India, the Crown Colonies could with difficulty be kept attached to England except by allegiance to the Crown. The Dominions, in our own day, have repudiated the authority of the Westminster Parliament except as a useful instrument for occasionally carrying out their own commands. These new nations will

THE MONARCHY AND THE CONSTITUTION

remain in the British commonwealth on equal terms with Britain in their allegiance to the King. The Monarch is advised by the Ministers of each of the Dominions, just in the same way as he is advised by the Ministers in Downing Street. This change, effected since the War, has given a new constitutional importance to the Crown and a new sphere of personal influence and duty to the Monarch.

For the free and peaceful cohesion of an immense and variegated society, whether England or Great Britain or the British Empire at large, it is of prime importance to have a personal object for common loyalty who is not a party man, still less a Dictator. Persons are more apt than ideas to arouse enthusiasm in the hearts of the simple many. No "Feast of the Constitution" would be as warmly celebrated as a Royal Jubilee or a Coronation. The King represents us all ; he is ourselves in our corporate capacity ; but he is also himself ; there he stands.



THE CORONATION OATH

BY PROFESSOR G. M. TREVELYAN, O.M.

THE Coronation Oath will be administered to King George VI in the time-honoured form of a solemn dialogue held between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Monarch. For reasons explained at the end of this article the words will differ in certain respects from those addressed to King George V at his Coronation 26 years ago, and the points of difference are shown in the following parallel columns:

1910

ARCHBISHOP.—Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging, according to the Statutes in Parliament agreed on, and the respective Laws and Customs of the same?

KING.—I solemnly promise so to do.

ARCHBISHOP.—Will you to your power cause Law and Justice, in Mercy, to be executed in all your judgements?

KING.—I will.

ARCHBISHOP.—Will you to the utmost of your power maintain the Laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel and the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law? And will you maintain and preserve inviolably the settlement of the Church of England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline and government thereof, as by law established in England? And will you preserve unto the Bishops and Clergy of England, and to the Churches there committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges, as by law do or shall appertain to them, or any of them?

KING.—All this I promise to do.

1937

ARCHBISHOP.—Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the peoples of Great Britain, Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa, of your Possessions and the other Territories to any of them belonging or pertaining, and of your Empire of India, according to their respective laws and customs?

KING.—I solemnly promise so to do.

ARCHBISHOP.—Will you to your power cause Law and Justice, in Mercy, to be executed in all your judgements?

KING.—I will.

ARCHBISHOP.—Will you to the utmost of your power maintain the Laws of God and the true profession of the Gospel? Will you to the utmost of your power maintain in the United Kingdom the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law? And will you maintain and preserve inviolably the settlement of the Church of England and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, as by law established in England? And will you preserve unto the Bishops and Clergy of England, and to the Churches, there committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law do or shall appertain to them, or any of them?

KING.—All this I promise to do.

THE CORONATION OATH

These words are much more than an appropriate formula. They are replete with the history of England and the principles of our constitutional theory and practice, as it has changed and expanded from Saxon times down to the present day.

The Triple Oath taken by our early Kings bound them to enjoin on the people the maintenance of the peace of Church and people, to put down rapine and wrong, and to uphold justice with mercy; *aequitatem et misericordiam* were the words of the oath in Saxon times, rendered in our present-day oath by "Law and Justice, in Mercy."

This threefold promise, or something like it in varying words, sufficed for the Norman and early Plantagenet Kings. Their office was sacrosanct, a commission from God, not to do their own pleasure, but to enforce the law, by and through which they reigned. As Bracton wrote in the reign of Henry III, "The King ought not to be under man, but under God and the Law, because Law maketh the King" (*Rex non debet esse sub homine sed sub deo et sub lege, quia lex facit regem.* Bracton, ed. Woodbine, 11, p. 33). Such was the early theory of a sacrosanct but constitutional monarchy, which was implied in the words of the early Coronation Oath.

But the later Plantagenets, beginning with Edward II, had to take the Oath with a more precise and a more political definition interpolated. "Sir," the Archbishop now asked the King, "do you grant to be kept and to be protected by you the just laws and customs which the community of your realm shall have chosen [*quas vulgus elegerit—les quels la communauté de vostre roiaume aura esleu*] and will you defend and strengthen them to the honour of God to the utmost of your power?"

Edward II. "I grant and promise."

The precise meaning attached to these words by the Barons who drew them up and imposed them on Edward II at his coronation is a matter on which no one but a medieval specialist would wisely offer any opinion of his

own, but at any rate, as the late Miss M. V. Clarke has written:

Edward II began his reign tied by a pledge to accept the ordinances that the magnates put forward either in the great council or in the new Parliament of estates.

One of the subsequent grievances against Edward II was that he was held to have broken this promise; and one of the charges against him at his deposition (as also against Richard II) was that he had broken his Coronation Oath. The Oath was therefore regarded in the Middle Ages as a real definition or limitation of the King's power, not as a mere formula. Both at that time, and in the later disputes on constitutional history in the era of the Stuarts, opposite opinions were held as to whether these words in the medieval Coronation Oath had bound the King to observe future Parliamentary legislation, or only laws already existing. [Clarke, *Mediaeval Representation and Consent*, p. 208; B. Wilkinson, *The Coronation Oath of Edward II*, pp. 404-416 of *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait*; Chrimes, *English Constitutional Ideas in the 15th Century*, pp. 17-20; *Rot. Parl.* III, 417, 17; 419, 26; 420, 39; *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Res.*, XIII, pp. 139-145, Richardson and Sayles.]

Whatever the precise meaning attached to the Oath in late Plantagenet, Lancastrian, or Yorkist times, the words might be held to imply too unrestricted a power of popular legislation, and were therefore not agreeable to the ideas of the Tudor and early Stuart Monarchy. Henry VIII with his own hand made the following interpolations (here italicized) in a document which purported to be a text of the Coronation Oath, but was in fact not the authentic form:

And that he shall graunte to hold the laws and *approyyd* customes of the realm *lawfull and not prejudicial to his crowne and imperiall duty*, and to his power kepe them, and affirm them which the *nobles and* people have made and chosen *with his consent*.

These interpolations are interesting as indicating the views of Henry VIII, although neither the original nor the amended form of words was used at his Coronation. (L. G. Wickham Legg, *Coronation Records*, pp. 240-241, 252; *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Res.*, XIII, p. 144).

THE CORONATION OATH

The Stuart Kings before the Revolution swore to "hold and keep the laws and rightful customs which the Commonalty of your Kingdom have"—the laws being spoken of as inherited *possession* of the people but not necessarily alterable at the popular will, as might have been implied by the older phrase *quas vulgus elegerit*. Yet even this limited Oath James II notoriously broke, with the result that the Revolution took place to re-establish the violated laws. The new Coronation Oath of 1689, settled by an act of the Convention Parliament, asserts, in modern terms and with much clearer definition, something analogous to the legislative doctrine of the late medieval Oath. And so at the Coronation of William and Mary, and at all subsequent Coronations, our monarchs have sworn to govern "according to the Statutes in Parliament agreed on."

In the same year, 1689, also as a consequence of James II's proceedings, the distinctively Protestant terms of the ecclesiastical clause in the Oath were fixed by Act of Parliament. This clause was interpreted by George III to preclude him from giving consent to the measure of Catholic Emancipation that Pitt had wished to pass as part of the Union settlement with Ireland. This was an entire misreading of the Oath of 1689, which was not so intended by those who framed and voted it, as the record of their debates clearly shows (*Parliamentary History*, V, pp. 208-211 : debate on Mr. Pelham's Proviso, March 28, 1689). George III's belief that the Coronation Oath was meant to limit the omnicompetence of Parliament and tie up future legislation on matters ecclesiastical was an honest error that had very ill consequences.

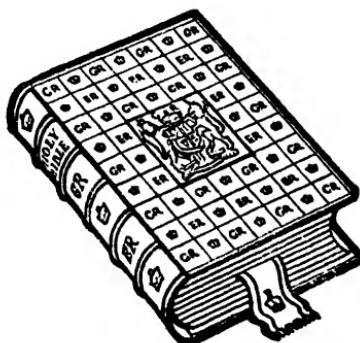
The wording of the Oath has not been materially altered since 1689, so far as concerns the substance of the King's undertakings. But changes such as the Parliamentary Union with Scotland and the Disestablishment of the Irish Church have from time to time necessitated the revision of certain words in the Oath connected with the political geography of the Empire. Such a change has indeed taken place since the last Coronation. The establishment of the Irish Free State, followed by the Statute of Westminster which altered the status of the Dominions,

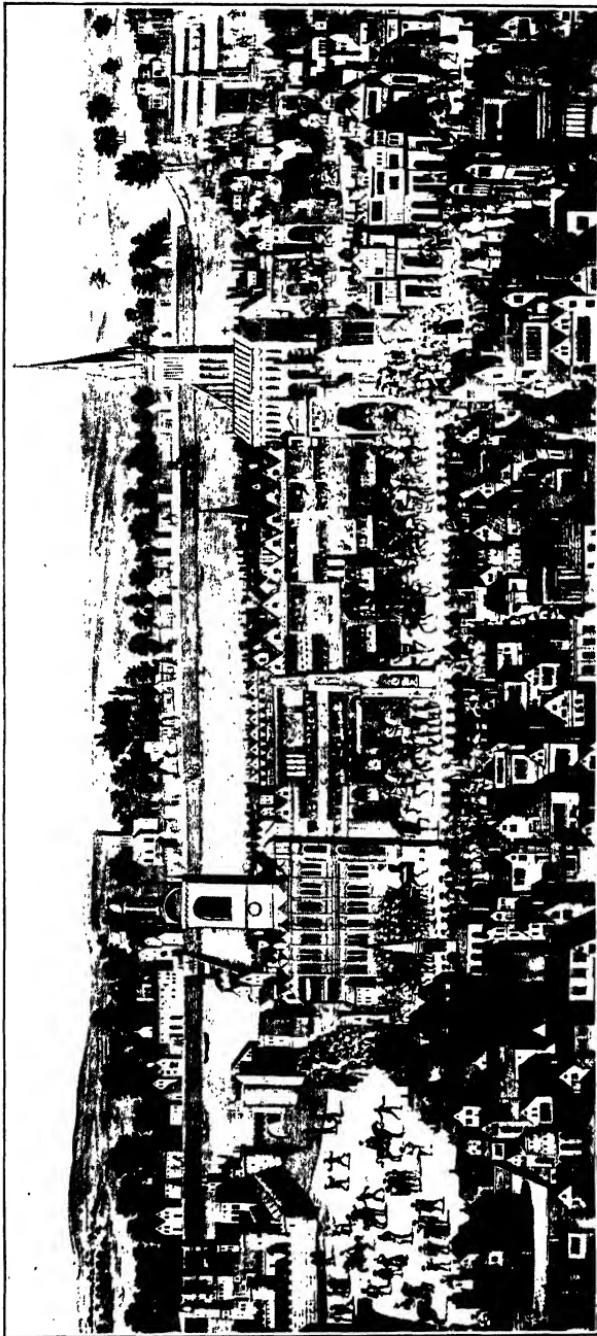
CROWN AND EMPIRE

called for a new formula. The consequent alterations in the Oath of 1910 are set out in the parallel columns at the beginning of this article.

In the first clause we have the new politico-geographic definition of the different parts of the Empire. In the third clause we have the alterations in the ecclesiastical part of the King's promise, adjusted to the new status of the Dominions, now each on an equality with Great Britain. "The Protestant Reformed Religion" does not appeal to the Irish Free State; nor "as established by law" does it affect the other Dominions where there are no State Churches; but they all agree that the King should "maintain the Laws of God and the true profession of the Gospel." As regards the "United Kingdom," England and Scotland, each with its own Reformed religious Establishment, are interested that he should "maintain the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law." And finally "in England," but in England alone, the King promises to maintain the settlement of the Church of England, its doctrine, worship, &c., and the rights of its clergy, according to the terms of the Statute of William and Mary.

So the Coronation Oath, dating back some thousand years, is still a vital and growing reality.





THE STATE PROCESSION OF KING EDWARD VI
passing through Cheapside on the way from the Tower of London to his Coronation at Westminster in 1547

WESTMINSTER ABBEY AND THE KINGS OF ENGLAND

BY DR. JOCELYN PERKINS, SACRIST OF
WESTMINSTER ABBEY

WESTMINSTER Abbey has been a great Royal Church from the very beginning. Many generations before the Norman Conquest a monastic church probably stood on the site of the present building upon the wild and desolate Isle of Thorns, an eyot of about forty or fifty acres, formed here by a tributary of the broad-flowing Thames. It is, however, to Edward, Saint, King, Confessor to whom this great central church of the British Empire looks back as its "Fundator." This king, the eldest son of the luckless Ethelred the Unready, had grown up in exile. He had been removed from England to the home of his mother Emma, the "Pearl of the Normans," and here he lived until, with the collapse of the Danish line of sovereigns, the nation reverted to the ancient royal line of Cerdic.

By birth a Saxon, Edward grew up a Norman alike in speech, in education and in sympathy. He witnessed not a few of the brilliant achievements of the race from which his own mother had come. Already in the eleventh century had the Normans become the conquerors of Sicily and the saviours of Rome. Magnificent buildings were uprising in every part of the Duchy. In the Benedictines of Bec and Jumiéges monasticism was displaying itself at its best. The influence of all these happenings upon the development of the young Prince's character was enormous, and they told heavily upon his after life. Those years of exile and hope deferred were a heavy trial and Edward in his extremity turned to his patron St. Peter and vowed that if he were ever restored to the throne of his forefathers he would make a pilgrimage to the Apostle's grave at Rome as an act of

gratitude. The unexpected happened. Hardicanute, last of the Danish sovereigns, came to an early end. An invitation was sent across the Channel and before long Edward received the Crown of the Realm in the Cathedral of Winchester, "the Royal Church of our nation's childhood."

And now this devout King prepared to set about the fulfilment of his vow, only to be met with stern opposition on the part of his advisers. The bare idea of allowing their newly crowned sovereign to leave his kingdom for a period of many months was abhorrent. The dangers were untold and lost nothing in their mouths by repetition; "the roads, the sea, the mountains, the valleys, ambuscades at the bridges and fords," to say nothing of "the felon Romans who seek nothing but gain and gifts." Negotiations were therefore opened up and a substitute was found for the vow of pilgrimage. The King was commanded to establish upon the Isle of Thorns a new monastery which should be "a gate of Heaven, the ladder of prayer, whence those who serve St. Peter there shall by him be admitted into Paradise."

Edward was nothing loth. He had already set up his palace hard by. In a man of his temperament and antecedents the bare idea of erecting a great church which should surpass all others in the land in size and dignity, bearing the name of the chief Apostle, "whom he reverenced with a special and singular affection," could not fail to arouse intense enthusiasm.

And so he set to work. Year after year he watched the growth of the mighty walls, the round arches, the giant piers, the tiny round-headed windows, reminiscent of Jumiéges, where he had aforetime worshipped. At last the new church, though in all probability still incomplete, was ready for the ceremony of consecration. The event has been recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. "At mid-winter King Edward came to Westminster and had the Minster there consecrated which he had himself built for the honour of God and St. Peter and all his saints."

It was a great occasion, that Feast of the Holy Innocents, but it was not unmixed with sorrow. The King's health

had long been failing, and when the day so eagerly anticipated arrived his strength collapsed. To attend the service was out of the question, though he managed with some difficulty to sign the Charter of Foundation. Accordingly he was represented by Queen Edith with her two brothers Harold and Gurth, destined both of them to perish before the next year was out. The strains of the music proclaiming the fact that the new Abbey Church at Westminster had, so to speak, started upon its great career were wafted into the room in the palace hard by, where lay the stricken King. He had been lying there senseless; but the sound of the music roused him from his stupor and he was heard to murmur the words, "the work stands finished."

A Westminster historian of later date, John Flete by name, who attained the position of Prior, has described the Abbey Church which he served in the following terms: "*Ex primitiva fundatione locus iste est regiae consecrationis regum, repositoriumque regalium insignium: caput Engliae merito diademaque regni ab antiquo nominatur.*"

"The head and crown of the realm." It was a great claim to make and we ask how did this church come to occupy such a position among the great high temples of Christendom? The answer is found in the personality of the last Saxon king but one and the place he occupies in English history. Edward the Confessor was not a great man. His character is full of inconsistencies and in some respects is far from attractive; but he stood for much in all Saxon hearts, while in the eyes of the Norman Duke his quiet grave in front of the high altar of the Abbey formed the central place in the England which William now claimed to have made his own.

The events of the previous ten or eleven months had, in the eyes of the great Duke, been an outrage of the first order. Harold was a liar, a perjuror, a traitor who had only come by the just reward of his evil deeds when he fell at Hastings. This breach in continuity had been a monstrous proceeding from first to last, and now it must be covered up and treated as though it had never been. He himself was the lawful, the undoubted successor of "his predecessor

King Edward," and he determined to proclaim the fact to the world in a manner which would brook no contradiction or denial. The ancient capital of Wessex, where not a few of the Saxon monarchs had received the Crown of the Realm, was thrust by him into the background. In one place, and one only, would he receive the solemn sacring which should confer upon him the kingship of the Anglo-Saxon land, and that was the spot hallowed by Edward's beloved and already venerated remains.

Christmas Day dawned then in that crucial year 1066. The Abbey, its walls fresh and white from the masons' hands, was crowded to overflowing. "Two nations were indeed in the womb" of the great church on that day, Saxons sullen and dispirited, side by side with the hated Normans, flushed with their victory barely eight weeks before. Every eye was fixed on the great Duke standing erect, a splendid figure of a man, on King Edward's grave. Special arrangements had been made by reason of the peculiar nature of this coronation ceremony with its two congregations, neither of them able to comprehend the speech of the other. Stigand, the Saxon Primate, was in disgrace, and William would have none of him. Accordingly, to Ealdred, Archbishop of York, was assigned the duty of proclaiming the new king to his Saxon compatriots, while the great Geoffroi, who at that very time was engaged in raising upon the hill of Coutances just such another church as that of King Edward at Westminster, stood beside him to perform the same office in French.

The proclamation was addressed to the assembled multitude and a "confused acclamation" arose from the mass of discordant elements. Outside sat the Norman cavalry on their war horses, stern and grim. Startled by the unexpected sound they lost their heads. Hastily assuming that a conflict had arisen within the walls of the church, they forthwith proceeded to cut down every Saxon within reach and set fire to the surrounding buildings. A general panic ensued. The congregation rushed forth, only to be trampled beneath the hoofs of the horses. The Duke was left standing there alone in front of the high altar

surrounded by the group of officiating prelates. Fortunately, the Archbishop of York retained sufficient self-possession to extract the customary oath from his new Sovereign, and the ceremony was hastily concluded. But it was an awful moment, not least for William, who, trembling with fear for the first time in his life, was solemnly "hallowed to king," while the dimness of the mid-winter day was illumined by the glare of the burning buildings, and the silence broken by the cries of his perishing subjects.

It was not an auspicious beginning, but this tragic day proved to be the first of the long line of regal ceremonies which have continued down to our own time. To Westminster Abbey has come every one of our Sovereigns, save two, to receive the sacred anointing and the crown of the realm at the hands of the episcopate of our land. It is a record which stands unique among the churches of the world.

The eleventh and twelfth centuries slipped away. All the time the veneration for Edward the Confessor was steadily growing, and at last there came a great moment when his name was enrolled in the Kalendar of the Saints, while a Papal Bull directed "that the body of the glorious King should be honoured here on earth as he himself was glorified in Heaven."

We reach the wonderful thirteenth century. Before many years of its course had been completed there arose a new king over England whose coronation indicates the commanding position which St. Edward and his Abbey had already acquired in the public mind. The reign of the evil John had come to its wretched end, and his young son, our third Henry, ascended the throne. He was a mere boy in years, but the nation turned to him in hope, filled with a desire to start afresh, as it were, after the horrors perpetrated by his father. But it was a grievous inheritance to which he succeeded. The country was in a state of political collapse. Westminster and a large portion of the land were in the hands of the French. A coronation such as that which had opened the reigns of his Norman and Angevin predecessors was out of the question. The

young King was therefore "hallowed" at Gloucester, though with somewhat maimed rites. There was no alternative, but the irregularity was admitted on all sides, and ultimately Henry received a second sacring at Westminster at the hands of Stephen Langton "to the end it might be said that now after the extinguishment of all sedicious factions he was crowned by the general consent of all the estates and subjects of his realm."

The day before his coronation Henry laid the foundation-stone of a new lady chapel which was added to the great Norman abbey mainly by the influence of William de Humez, one of the outstanding Abbots of Westminster. The event evidently made a deep and lasting impression upon the King's mind.

Henry, it must be remembered, was the first really English king known to the land for generations. He was also an artist to the finger-tips, and according to his lights a deeply religious man, though his piety sometimes took fantastic forms. Moreover, as the years went on his devotion to the memory of the old Saxon king lying in the Abbey but a stone's throw from his own palace steadily increased. By degrees a mighty conception took hold of his entire being. He determined to construct a new resting place for the body of St. Edward the Confessor, splendid beyond words, and enclosed in a casket in which the new-found Gothic beauty which was spreading rapidly all over Northern France and England should find perfect expression.

In 1245 the royal command went forth. Down came the great central tower, the choir, the transept, and the cloister of the Norman building upon which St. Edward had bestowed his best. Less than two centuries had come and gone since those stern Norman pillars and arches rose from the ground. In the eyes of Henry, however, they were devoid of either beauty or interest, "*nullius omnino valoris*," and he proceeded upon his way.

One difficulty after another supervened in which lack of money was not the least; but the King refused to submit. He continued wholly undeterred by every obstacle which arose. At last after nearly a quarter of a century of effort

there came a great October day when the old man (for such he had become by this time) had the happiness of taking part in the official opening of the splendid choir and transepts which we behold to-day. With his own hands aided by his two sons and certain magnates of the Court he laid the sainted remains of St. Edward in the sumptuous shrine which his piety had reared for their reception immediately behind the high altar.

In erecting this great Gothic church Henry was not unmindful of the task which the Abbey was expected to play in connexion with the Coronation. It was almost inevitable that the King, bosom friend as he was of St. Louis of France and a frequent visitor to that land, should have turned for example and inspiration to the great Coronation church of the French Monarchy, Notre Dame de Reims. There is much about our English Westminster which is calculated to remind us of that superb work of art, not only in the character of its architecture but also in its planning. In both cases a large portion of the nave has been encroached upon to form the ritual choir. Both buildings are equipped with transepts of immense size and depth. By this means the space in front of the high altar at which the Sacrings of the kings were intended to take place is not only of great extent in itself, but is also placed in such a manner as to command the view of an exceptionally large congregation. Thus, Westminster was a royal church alike in its inception and in its ultimate perfection.

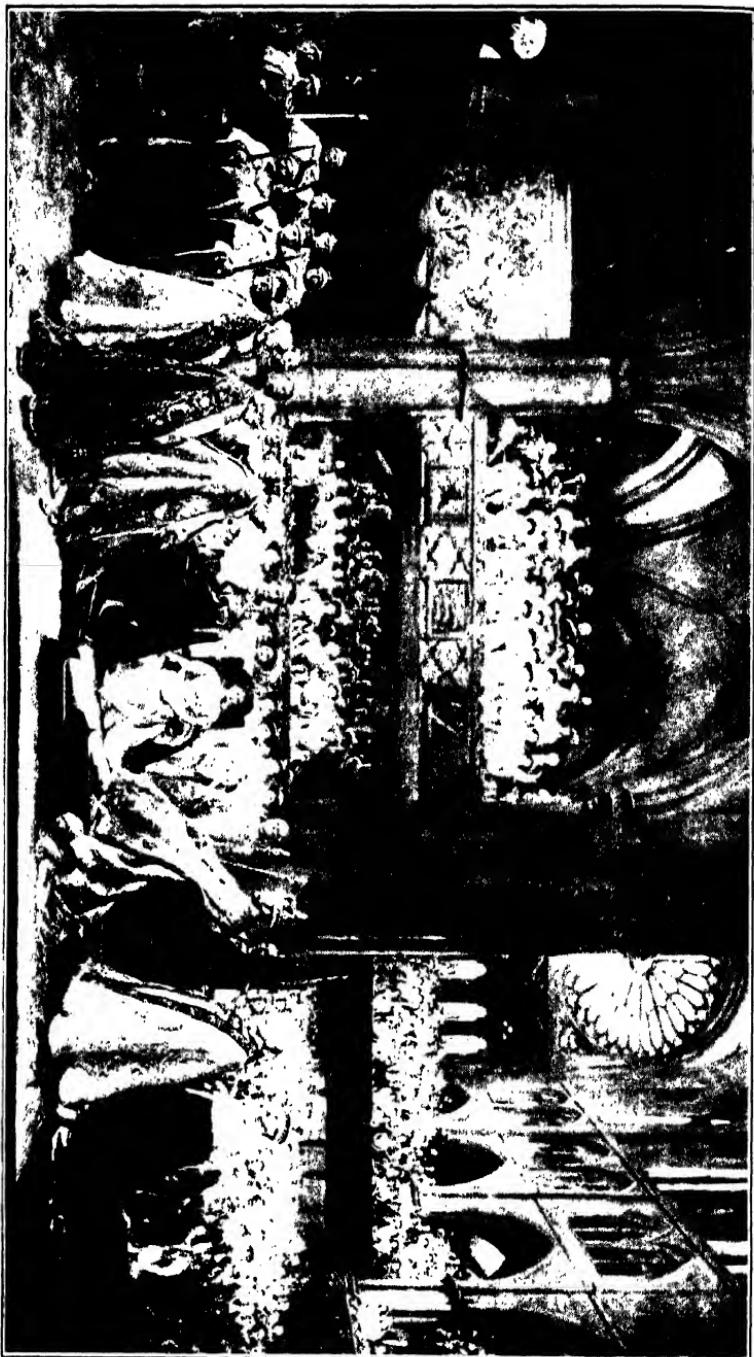
The King did not live to see his church completed. Something like two centuries and a half were destined to come and go before the glories of the choir were matched by those of the nave. The old Norman nave of the Confessor remained standing for many a long year, producing an effect which must have been ungainly and lopsided in the extreme. In all probability it would never have been completed at all had it not been for the action of certain sovereigns, such as Richard II, Henry V, and Edward IV. Their generosity affords a marked contrast to the lack of interest displayed by others who at one time or another sat upon the throne of England. Thanks to their aid and the energy of certain Abbots of whom the out-

standing names are those of Simon Langham, Nicholas Litlington, and John of Islip, the work was accomplished, but not until the Tudor dynasty had been on the throne for many years.

At this point there uprises another Henry, whose name will ever be associated with the amazing building at the east end of the Abbey Church, "one of the most marvellous creations of expiring Gothic," which, in spite of mutilation and restoration, will ever remain the "wonder of the world."

Henry VII in his last will and testament has revealed at length the objects which he had in view when, like his namesake, he ruthlessly destroyed the old Lady Chapel in order to make way for the grand structure on the erection of which he had set his heart. These objects were three in number. He wished in the first place to proclaim his deep devotion to the Blessed Virgin whom "in all his necessities he had made his continual refuge." Secondly, the circle of tombs round St. Edward the Confessor's Shrine being now complete he wished to provide the land with another royal burial place. He wished that the tomb of himself and his golden-haired queen, surrounded by "a grate in manner of a closure of coper and gilt," should form the centrepiece. Lastly, he desired to provide a resting-place for his Lancastrian predecessor, his uncle "of Blessid Memorie King Henry VI." The King's desires and intentions did not all of them come to fruition. Not much more than the bare shell of the building had been completed before he passed away and his influence upon the progress of the scheme ceased.

Thus, the body of Henry VI still remains in its original resting-place at Windsor. Alterations, too, were made in the internal arrangements of the Chapel, not by any means for the better, by the King's son and successor, Henry VIII. Thus the Chapel only represents the original scheme in part. Again, the building suffered heavy-handed treatment in subsequent years. Only a few small fragments remain of its stained glass so beautiful that it was selected to furnish the model for those matchless sheets of colour at King's College Chapel, Cambridge. Cruel damage has



THE CORONATION OF KING GEORGE V
From the painting by the late MR. J. H. F. Bacon

been done to the Royal tomb and other furnishings, while some sadly incongruous monuments have found an entry. None the less, Henry VII's Chapel, with its tiers of sculptured saints, its fan-vaulted ceiling, and its wealth of decoration, displays an ensemble of beauty which cannot be matched anywhere. The glory of Perpendicular architecture was one of the special contributions made by our country to the artistic life of the world, and in Henry VII's Chapel the English craftsmen attained their zenith.

With the granddaughter of Henry VII we reach another outstanding personality. Beneath her kindly and protecting shadow the daily life of the great Church of Westminster is being lived to this very day, for her influence upon its fortunes was great and profound. As was the case with her distant ancestor, William the Conqueror, the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's wonderful reign was not altogether auspicious. The splendour of the Duke's Coronation was marred by the massacre of scores of unoffending Saxons. It was the lot of Elizabeth Tudor to find herself in almost as evil case as the Emperor Frederick II, who, being excommunicate when he made himself King of Jerusalem in 1229, was compelled, in the absence of bishop or priest, to place the crown upon his head with his own hands. In 1558 an outbreak of the plague had emptied a number of English sees of their episcopal occupants. The remaining bishops were staunchly Marian in their outlook, and would on no account have either part or lot with the daughter of Anne Boleyn. It is possible that a few of them may have looked on at Elizabeth's Sacring, though even this is doubtful ; but only one, Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, could be induced actually to officiate at this coronation. His compliance with the Queen's request did not, however, save him from deprivation at no great distance of time, and he is traditionally supposed to have died of remorse.

Once crowned and seated upon her throne Elizabeth quickly turned her attention to the Abbey. Her father, Henry VIII, had replaced the monastic foundation by a Collegiate Church, which the Queen now proceeded to re-establish with certain minor alterations. She determined to create in this central position an institution in the life of

which piety and sacred learning should be the outstanding features. There is some ground for thinking that the Queen and her advisers even had the idea of creating a third University with the Abbey as its centre. This plan, if it ever existed, has never been brought to fruition ; but, on the other hand, the long record of those who have served the Church of Westminster in one capacity or another fully entitles us to claim that the ideals of the great Queen have never failed to be borne in high regard.

Forming part of the Collegiate foundation is the famous School which, according to Elizabeth's Charter of Incorporation, was to include a Head Master, Under Master, and forty Queen's Scholars " to be taught grammar." The influence which this school has exercised upon the life of our country has been simply enormous. Although never of great size, the number of men it has turned out who have attained high distinction in every walk of life is perfectly amazing. The names of Ben Jonson, George Herbert, John Locke, Christopher Wren, John Dryden, Jeremy Bentham, Warren Hastings, Edward Gibbon, Charles Wesley, William Cowper (to mention a few " Old Westminsters " only) are more than sufficient to justify this claim.

To this day the name of Queen Elizabeth is constantly remembered at the Abbey services. The anniversary of her Accession (November 17) is observed as a local festival, when the Abbey bells ring in her honour. It can be said with truth that the solemn injunction of the Queen contained in her Charter of Incorporation has never been forgotten by the members of this great foundation:

"The Lord pour forth his spirit upon you, that this our College from age to age may bring forth fruits of holiness and learning ripe and abundant."

All through these years the Royal character of Westminster Abbey continued unimpaired. For long centuries right down to the troubled reign of our second Stuart Sovereign were the national Regalia stored within its precincts. Occupying a position of special dignity, immediately behind the high altar and until the construction of the present screen looking westwards right down the Church, stood the sumptuous chair, the gift of Edward I,

in which the Stone of Destiny is enclosed and on which one Sovereign after another has sat to receive Unction, Investiture, and Coronation. The Tudor pulpit from which Thomas Cranmer preached at the Coronation of his godson Edward VI was still available for the Coronation of George V, when Archbishop Lang delivered therefrom his noble address, a bare seven minutes in length. Among the treasures of the Chapter Library is the precious volume, "a thin folio of 38 leaves of vellum," known as the *Liber Regalis*, in which the Coronation Rite is set forth in its entirety. Last, but assuredly by no means least, as coronation after coronation comes round the King's Scholars of the Royal College of Westminster are wont to "entertain" their Majesties with "a short prayer" or salutation in Latin as they draw near to the place of their sacring.

In the eighteenth century a further development took place, for Westminster Abbey was constituted the home of a great Order of Knighthood. The character of our first Hanoverian sovereign is far from attractive and displays nothing at all suggestive of the knightly or the chivalrous. None the less, it is with George I that we must associate the placing of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath upon a properly organized basis and the appointment of the Abbey to be its permanent home.

This event took place in 1725, when the King, acting as the Fountain of Honour, set apart Henry VII's Chapel to be the headquarters of this Order consisting of a Prince of the blood royal, a Great Master and thirty-five Companions, while the Dean of Westminster was constituted Dean of the Bath with the privilege of wearing the crimson mantle and riband. Every few years a solemn installation of new knights took place during the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth centuries. Eleven of these installations in all were solemnized, the last of them in the year 1812, and great occasions they were. In the eyes of the general public they were only surpassed by the Coronation itself.

The brilliant banners of the knights have to some extent made good the loss of colour suffered by Henry VII's

Chapel when its glorious windows were so ruthlessly smashed by Sir Robert Harley and the other myrmidons of the Long Parliament. Their presence, combined with the other outward and visible tokens of the Order, confer a distinction upon the beautiful Chapel which is only equalled by the home of the Order of the Garter in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

Unfortunately the eighteenth century, to which belongs this important and deeply interesting development, this forging of a fresh link, so to speak, between the Abbey and the Crown, was destined also to witness a grievous loss.

For several generations the Shrine of St. Edward the Confessor, together with the grave hard by of his Consort, Queen Edith, and her great niece, "Good Queen Maud," were the only royal personages for whom a burial-place had been sought in Westminster Abbey. With the thirteenth century, however, the body of Henry III, as the merest matter of course, was laid in his church in the position of highest honour, that of the Founder on the north side of the Shrine. From that time forward the burial of one of our monarchs in any church other than that of Westminster came to be regarded as a distinctly abnormal proceeding—indeed, it was the undoubted policy of Henry III to create here a royal cemetery in the immediate vicinity of the ever-venerated Shrine. This idea was carried further forward by our first Tudor Sovereign, with the result that among the many claims to greatness possessed by the Abbey not the least is the great collection of royal tombs, which no other church in the world can even begin to rival. Thirty-two of our Sovereigns and their Consorts have been laid to rest within these walls, though no attempt has been made since the burial of Queen Elizabeth to commemorate them by a tomb or a monument.

It was reserved for George III, by one decisive action, to destroy this precious link between the Abbey and the reigning dynasty of the land. Devoted as he was to his country home at Windsor, he proceeded to construct at the east end of St. George's Chapel a royal vault, not unlike that in Henry VII's Chapel. The latter houses the remains of George II and his gifted wife Caroline of

Anspach, but, save for the funerals of certain children of George III in the early years of his reign, no royal obsequies were performed in Westminster Abbey between the burial of George II in 1760, so graphically described by Horace Walpole, and the year 1925, when Queen Alexandra lay in solemn state before the high altar for twenty-four hours.

These reminiscences would be incomplete did they not contain, in conclusion, a few words recalling the association of our late beloved Sovereign King George V with Westminster Abbey. Barely two years after his coronation, at an unforgettable service on July 22, 1913, he solemnly reinaugurated the Order of the Bath, which, so far as its association with Henry VII's Chapel was concerned, had fallen into a condition almost chaotic—indeed, no installation of knights had taken place since the distant year 1812. Over and over again did he worship with Queen Mary by his side within our walls, not least during the troublous days of the Great War. The beautiful cream-coloured hangings which formed Their Majesties' oblation at their Coronation are seen adorning the high altar on not a few festal days in the course of the year. The King's signature appears, together with the signatures of the other members of the Royal Family, in the splendid volume which was given by them to the Dean and Chapter, and which is exhibited in the nave. None of those present will ever forget his noble bearing when he stood as chief mourner of the British Empire beside the grave of the Unknown Warrior and cast those handfuls of French earth upon the coffin.

When at length the end came and the body of the beloved King was placed in Westminster Hall that his sorrowing subjects might pay their last tribute, his coffin was enwrapped in the beautiful hearse-cloth given to the Dean and Chapter by the Actors' Church Union in memory of their fallen comrades. It was surrounded by a ring of lighted candles, tended night and day by Abbey servants, while at the head over all there gleamed the Golden Cross of the Abbey Church.

PERPLEXITIES OF PAST CORONATIONS

CORONATION, like kingship itself, is an institution of immemorial antiquity. From the earliest times kings are depicted almost everywhere wearing some kind of ceremonial headdress, whether it be called fillet or helmet, mitre, diadem, or crown ; and since, as we pursue the human pedigree nearer towards the primitive, or at least the primeval, we find man ever more rather than less of a ritualist, it is reasonable to suppose that there was never a time when the emblem of sovereignty was delivered by the Court hatter instead of being ceremonially imposed by a high dignity of the realm. Our first remote glimpse of the consecration of a king on British soil is by a ray of dim religious light falling upon the sacred isle of Iona. There, at the end of the sixth century, St. Adamnan tells us that the holy Columba repaired at the bidding of an angel to inaugurate Aidan King of Dalriada with the laying on of hands. But this event of Celtic history or legend is not in the line of tradition that leads to the Coronation of King George VI. Of that tradition the fountain head is unexplored, but, passing by one or two Heptarchic princes of whom we know the bare fact that they were hallowed to king (*tō cýninge gehalgod*), we may find a starting point in a great council held by Egbert of Wessex at Kingston-on-Thames in 838. It used to be the fashion to call Egbert the first King of all England ; he was scarcely that, but still this council is a landmark because in it was concluded that treaty of perpetual alliance between the King and his heirs and the Archbishop and Church of Canterbury which may be regarded as the foundation of the medieval English polity. As a consequence of this great treaty Kingston became for two centuries a normal crowning-place of the Kings of Wessex and England, and

the choice illuminates the first significance of coronation, as a solemn renewal of the compact between Church and King. But though the Kingston coronations have been represented as the rule, there were many exceptions, and in fact the earliest coronation of which we have any detailed account took place at Bath. The king was Edgar, called the Peaceful, and the date 973. He was crowned, for some strange reason, in the fourteenth year of his reign, and the delay is not sufficiently accounted for by the story that, as a penance for the seduction of a nun of Wilton, St. Dunstan had forbidden him to wear his crown for seven years.

Even at this early date practically all the essentials of the modern coronation rite were carried out in a form not greatly differing from the ceremony of to-day. The king swore the threefold oath to guard the peace of the Church and all Christian people, to forbid all wrong and robbery, and to execute justice with mercy. He was anointed by the archbishops and acclaimed by the people, and was then invested with the regalia, including the crown, and finally enthroned. The antiphon at the unction was “*Zadok the priest*,” the very words (though, of course, in the Latin tongue) that were sung to Handel’s music at the coronation of George VI.

Edward the Confessor, who himself was crowned in his capital of Winchester on Easter Sunday, 1043, made it the chief work of his reign to build at Westminster a great abbey and church to be the place of crowning and burial for all future Sovereigns of England. It is believed that his successor, Harold Godwinsson, was crowned there on the morrow of his death, the feast of Epiphany, 1066. The event illustrates the profound significance attached by the men of the early Middle Ages to Coronation. Primogeniture was not yet the law of succession ; the practice was for the magnates to choose from the Royal House the worthiest male of adult age, and the title of such a one depended less on his birth than on the strength of his support and his success in getting himself crowned. Harold was not even of the blood royal, and there were two rivals in the field—William of Normandy and the still more formidable Harold Hardraada. Hence the urgency of an

immediate coronation, and the importance of securing it from a prelate whose position was unassailable. Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, lay under suspicion of simony and schism, and therefore Harold set him aside and was crowned by Aldred, Archbishop of York. It was again Aldred who was called on before the end of the same year, on Christmas Day, to crown William the Conqueror. The story is well known of how, when the shout of acclamation went up within the Abbey Church, the Norman soldiers on guard outside took it for an attack on their Duke and set fire to the neighbouring houses as a diversion so that the knights within rushed out to see what was amiss, and William was left on his throne alone with the clergy, to carry through the rest of the ceremony "*vehementer tremens.*"

Coronation during the next century was usually not to be gained without some kind of treaty, of which the terms were embodied in a Coronation Charter. The most important of these documents is the Coronation Charter of Henry I, which became the basis of the baronial campaign of 1215, after which the history of charters branches off from that of coronations.

King Stephen's success in establishing himself, however insecurely, on the throne was largely due to his promptitude, on the death of Henry I, in speeding to England through a furious hurricane and gaining the sacred unction by a hard bargain with the Church. Later, when his sovereignty had been tarnished by some months spent as a prisoner of war after the battle of Lincoln, he thought it necessary to be crowned a second time, at Canterbury.

The reign of Henry II saw a ceremony unique in English history, and copied from Imperial and French practice, the Coronation of the heir apparent Henry, who was thenceforth known as "the young King." It was an event of ill omen, which led through Becket's excommunication of the Archbishop of York for performing the rite to his own martyrdom, and afterwards to the death of the young King himself in arms against his father. The Coronation of his younger brother Richard in 1189 was marred by a massacre of the Jews, who in transgressing the order forbidding their presence in the precincts of Westminster



THE CORONATION OF KING HAROLD II
as depicted in the Bayeux tapestry



THE CORONATION OF KING HENRY IV
reproduced from the Froissart MS.

during the festivities, had no more criminal motive than that of making a presentation to the new King. Like Stephen, Richard spent part of his reign in captivity, and he followed the precedent of 1141 by undergoing re-Coronation (though without unction) in 1194.

The evil reign of John Lackland was foreshadowed at his coronation. John spent much of the time in unseemly laughter, so uncontrolled that he dropped the lance which was then one of the coronation ornaments. This was afterwards interpreted as an omen of the loss of Normandy, for the lance was part of the insignia of the Norman dukes. The final scandal was caused when, alone among the crowned Kings of England, except the child Edward VI and James II for a very different reason, he refused to receive the Blessed Sacrament.

Henry III is the only King of England who has been not only crowned twice but twice anointed. The first ceremony was performed by the Bishop of Winchester, Peter des Roches, at Gloucester on his accession; for Westminster was in the hands of the French Prince Louis (afterwards Louis VIII), and with it the regalia. (The legend that they had been lost by John in the Wash may now be considered exploded.) In place of the crown the bishop used "*sertum quoddam*" belonging to the queen-mother. Four years later the unction and coronation were repeated with full rites by the Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury. The coronation of Henry's consort, Eleanor of Provence, was remarkable for the elaboration of the more ornamental "services," and became the model for all subsequent ceremonies of the kind.

The coronation of Edward II nearly became the occasion of bloodshed when a nobleman, irritated by the ostentation of Piers Gaveston's attire, was with difficulty prevented from drawing his sword upon him in the Abbey. Constitutionally it is memorable for the elaborate oath imposed on the King, whereby he bound himself to observe, not only justice, equity, and the ancient laws, but also the laws thereafter to be agreed upon in Parliament. This oath was probably intended only to cover the baronial programme in the Parliament then impending, but, like so

many other provisions for special occasions, it has become a source of general principle.

The coronation of Richard II was a very elaborate affair—or at least the proceedings were more elaborately recorded than on any previous occasion. Beginning in the early morning with the State procession from the Tower to Westminster, it continued so long that at the close the boy-king had to be carried from the Abbey in a state of collapse on the shoulders of four knights. He had, of course, like all the pre-Reformation kings (except, presumably, John) gone through the ordeal fasting.

Henry IV's is the first coronation at which we have certain record of the creation before the ceremony of knights of the bath—that is, knights who prepared themselves for the accolade with the full ritual of vigil and lustral bath which was waived for those dubbed for valour on the battlefield. The medieval “order” of the Bath is, of course, a Hanoverian fiction, invented when George I purported to “revive” it in 1725.

During the period of the Wars of the Roses records are meagre, and it is sufficient to note that Henry VI, alone of the English kings who called themselves Kings of France, was actually crowned at Paris as well as at Westminster, and that Edward V was never crowned, his accession having been annulled by the Council on the ground of illegitimacy while the arrangements for the coronation were actually being made.

One, and only one, person has been crowned King of England on Irish soil. On May 24, 1487, under the auspices of Gerald FitzGerald, the great Earl of Kildare, Walter FitzSimon, Archbishop of Dublin, in Christ Church Cathedral set a crown—“borrowed from the statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary kept in a church called by her name . . . near . . . Danes Gate”—on the head of a boy who was hailed as King Edward VI of England. This youth is better known to history as Lambert Simnel, and after his downfall it is said that Henry VII caused him to wait at table on the temporal lords of Ireland, whom the King told that, were he himself long absent, “they would crown apes.”

As luxury and secularism increased towards the high Renaissance, the ecclesiastical core of the coronation remained surprisingly little changed, even by the Reformation, but the attendant festivities became more and more ornate. The celebrations with which Queen Elizabeth went to her crowning were of surpassing splendour. The City of London, through its befrurred aldermen and the liverymen of the Trade Companies, had organized a huge display of allegorical "pageants," and at every stage in her progress the Queen was greeted with symbolical tableaux, "explained" by children reciting sententious verse—one representing the royal pedigree and the union of the Roses, another Time and his daughter Truth bearing the Bible, a third "Deborah, the Judge and Restorer of the House of Israel," with the Commonalty, the Clergy, and the Nobility (in that unusual order) on stages below her, and a fourth the ancient heroes Gogmagog the Albion and Corineus the Briton. But at the Abbey, such was the religious dislocation of the times, there was only one Bishop to crown her, Oglethorpe of Carlisle. The See of Canterbury was vacant, and the whole Marian episcopate had refused to be concerned. Though the Mass was celebrated, as it had been even at the coronation of Edward VI, there was much wrangling about whether the Host should be elevated or not, and according to some accounts the Queen herself withdrew during the Communion.

For James I, who came to England as a crowned king, the rite was for the first time translated into English. It was hastily and unsatisfactorily done; the language fell far below the noble level of Cranmer's work in the Book of Common Prayer, and, although Laud improved it at the beginning of the next reign, it has never been raised to the dignity appropriate to the august occasion. Indeed, it was still further impoverished by the mediocre liturgical taste and skill of Archbishop Sancroft and Bishop Compton, who revised it for James II and William and Mary respectively.

Charles I, whose queen, on religious grounds, refused even to be present at his coronation, was the last king to be crowned with the old Great Regalia, the sacred relics kept

by the monks of Westminster and traditionally descending from St. Edward himself. The whole collection was dispersed by the Commonwealth and sold for trifling prices, and fresh regalia had to be manufactured for Charles II. He, who had been crowned King of Scots with a secularized Presbyterian ceremony by the Covenanting Marquess of Argyle in 1651, was crowned King of England on St. George's Day, 1661. Pepys was present, but found it "impossible to relate the glory of this day, expressed in the clothes of them that rid, and their horses and horse-clothes. . . . So glorious was the show with gold and silver that we were not able to look at it, our eyes at last being so much overcome." And not only his eyes—for he afterwards got extremely drunk.

James II, whose religious divergence from the national establishment caused some awkward rearrangements of the rite, was particularly anxious to have a magnificent coronation, but the superstitious found in it, in the light of after events, plenty of evil omens, such as that the crown was too big, dangling over his nose and nearly falling off ; and Dymoke the Champion, on dismounting to kiss the King's hand, "fell down all his length in the hall." "See you, love," said the Queen, "what a weak champion you have."

In the next reign the double coronation required a second set of regalia to be prepared for Queen Mary II, and the coronation oath was drastically reconstructed to bind hand and foot any future king of Romeward leanings. But the age of reason was setting in and the mystical ceremony of coronation began to fall into contempt. Not that there was any diminution of its outward splendours ; as a social occasion it was still magnificent ; but its ancient significance as a solemn consecration of king and people faded from men's minds. The banquet rather than the unction became the chief ceremony. Even that was bungled.

The fashionable world, paraded for the coronation of George III, tied themselves into amazing knots. There was a strike of workmen in Westminster Hall ; the Deputy Earl Marshal lost the Sword of State ; when the procession

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*A Speech made by K. Charles i^f. 2^d. at his Coronation, ist January, 1661
I will by god's assistance bestow my life for your defence
wishing to live no longer then that I may see this King
dome flourish in happiness.*



*The Oath, I doe promise & vow in y^e presence of y^e eternall god y^e I will main-
taine y^e true Kirk of god religion right preaching & administration of y^e Sacra-
ments now received & preached within this Realme in purity; And shall abolish
& gain-stand all false Religions & sects contrary to y^e same. And shall rule y^e peo-
ple committed to my charge, according to y^e will of god, and laudable laws & constitu-
tions of y^e Realme; causing justice & equity to be ministred without partiality.*

THE CORONATION OF KING CHARLES II
From a contemporary engraving

reached the Hall the places were not allotted, and while all the dignitaries were fighting for precedence, it was discovered that there were neither chairs nor canopy for the King and Queen. At last, when all were seated, the Lord High Steward on his charger (which had been over-rehearsed in the art of withdrawal from the Royal presence) entered and rode up the Hall rump first. By way of apology to the King's remonstrance, the Deputy Earl Marshal said, "It is true, Sire, that there has been some neglect, but I have taken care that the next coronation shall be regulated in the exactest manner possible."

This, it is said, is the only occasion on which the Champion's gage of defiance was accepted. It was taken up by an old woman who, "reluctant that so finely dressed a gentleman should lose his glove in so great a crowd, very kindly picked it up, and took the greatest care of it." According to another story Charles Edward, the Jacobite Prince of Wales, disguised as a woman, picked up the glove and left another in its place, containing a written challenge to a combat on the following day.

Not all the invited guests had place at the board, and "It was pleasant to see the stratagems made use of by the company in the galleries to come in for a smack of the good things below. The ladies clubbed their handkerchiefs together to draw up a chicken or a bottle of wine. Some had been so provident as to bring baskets with them, which were let down, like the prisoners' boxes at Ludgate or the Gate House—with a 'Pray remember the poor.'" The proceedings ended with the opening of the doors and a free fight by the mob for the remains of the feast.

The coronation of George IV took place in the heyday of the Romantic movement, and there was much searching of records in order to make its details authentically Gothic. The result was compared with Astley's Circus, which is said to have supplied the horses for the Great Officers of State. Among the singular anachronisms then devised, such as the fantastic doublets and hose worn by the King himself and his immediate suite, there still survives the mock-Elizabethan ruff added for the occasion to the late seventeenth-century costume of the Beefeaters. But the

great sensation of the day, apart from the unprecedented bulk of provender that was eaten and drunk, was caused by Queen Caroline. George had fixed his coronation more than a year after his accession, for the express purpose of being rid of his wife before it—not a happy precedent for the modern practice of long-delayed coronations. The Bill of Pains and Penalties had been presented in the House of Lords and abandoned ; but the Privy Council had determined that Caroline should take no part in the coronation. (A Queen Consort is crowned by the grace of the Sovereign and not by right.) On the Coronation day, however, the Queen set out in her State coach, accompanied by Lady Hood and Lady Anne Hamilton, and followed by Lord Hood in a carriage of his own. The troops lining the route presented arms, and there were shouts for the Queen ; there were also boos, for public opinion was much divided. She presented herself successively at door after door of Westminster Hall ; her ticket was demanded ; she replied that the Queen of England needed none, and was refused admission. Her last attempt seems to have been at Poets' Corner, and here Lord Hood presented a peer's ticket, made out for some strange reason in the name of the Duke of Wellington, but apparently "transferable." The doorkeeper said that it would admit one only, and Lord Hood asked whether her Majesty would enter the Abbey without her ladies. After some hesitation the Queen declined and drove home "amidst reiterated shouts of mingled applause and disapprobation." Afterwards her sympathizers pelted the public offices with mud.

This lamentable episode brought coronations into disrepute, no less than the excessive ostentation that had raised the cost of the ceremony to nearly a quarter of a million pounds. There was a violent reaction, and William IV's coronation was conducted with such cheese-paring economy that it earned the name of the Half-Crownation. The historic procession from Westminster Hall and the no less historic banquet were both abandoned, and to this day have not been resumed. With them has disappeared some of the most interesting and ancient pageantry of the day, of which the most conspicuous was

the challenge of the lord of the manor of Scrivelsby as King's Champion. There were protests, and the "exterior cavalcade"—that is, the drive from the Palace to the Abbey—was increased in splendour and length of route for Queen Victoria ; but this, though a fine popular spectacle, has no historical associations.

The young Queen, strictly drilled in methodical habits by her mother, conscientiously wrote out her impressions in her journal before she went to bed. It is clear that she was deeply moved by the religious solemnity of the day, and that her next most vivid sentiment was a desire to do credit to the fatherly care of Lord Melbourne. His words of commendation—" You did it beautifully, every part of it, with so much taste ; it's a thing you can't give a person advice upon ; it must be left to a person"—are set down with childlike pride. The ceremony was carried through with more sincerity and dignity than in immediately preceding reigns, though the adaptation of the ring had made it too small and it caused the Queen much pain, and she was obviously shocked by such incidents as the following :

" I then again descended from the Throne, and repaired with all the Peers bearing the Regalia, my Ladies and Trainbearers, to St. Edward's Chapel, as it is called ; but which, as Lord Melbourne said, was more *unlike* a Chapel than anything he had ever seen ; for what was *called* an *Altar* was covered with sandwiches, bottles of wine, &c., &c. The Archbishop came and *ought* to have delivered the Orb to me, but I had already got it, and he (as usual) was *so* confused and puzzled and knew nothing, and—went away."

With the Queen's own observations may be compared a few sentences by the newly elected member for Maidstone, Benjamin Disraeli :

" The Queen looked very well, and performed her part with great grace and completeness, which cannot in general be said of the other performers ; they were always in doubt as to what came next, and you saw the want of rehearsal. The Duke was loudly cheered when he made his homage. Melbourne looked very awkward and uncouth,

with his coronet cocked over his nose, his robes under his feet, and holding the great sword of state like a butcher. . . . I saw Lord Ward after the ceremony, in a retiring room, drinking champagne out of a pewter pot, his coronet cocked aside, his robes disordered, and his arms akimbo, the very picture of Rochester."

The coronation of Edward VII, originally fixed for June 26, 1902, had to be postponed for over a month in consequence of the dangerous illness of the King. The curious effect of this calamity was to make the ceremony, in Lord Rosebery's words, "something of a family festival for the British Empire." Though the representatives of the King's Dominions oversea had remained in London, all but one of the foreign delegations had returned home. It is interesting on the present occasion to remark that the one exception was the delegation of the Emperor of Abyssinia. The liturgy was slightly revised to bring it nearer to the ancient precedents, and the aged Archbishop Temple delegated the coronation of Queen Alexandra to his brother of York.

The coronation of George V was carried out in the presence of a greater concourse of representatives from every part of the Empire and the world than had ever assembled for such a purpose before. It was an impressive demonstration of the continuous vitality of the English kingship, which still dedicates itself afresh in every reign in the same spirit, and with very much the same forms, as it did at the coronation of Edgar the Peaceful in 973. Yet the demonstration is more impressive still to-day, for the cataclysmic events of 26 years have left the British monarchy more indisputably unique. In the words of the authoritative history of the English coronation just published by Professor Schramm of Göttingen :

"Everything at Westminster remains as of yore, while Aachen and Rheims are desolate. There is no longer an *Imperator Romanorum*. Even the Habsburgs and Hohenzollerns have had to lay aside their Imperial titles, and the crown, sceptre, and robes of the old Imperial treasury are gazed at as exhibits in a museum. In France not even this memory of the past survives, for the French, even

PERPLEXITIES OF PAST CORONATIONS

more rudely than the English of the Commonwealth, destroyed every trace of their monarchy ; and all attempts, from Napoleon I to Napoleon III, to bring French history back to the road from which it swerved in 1789 have completely failed. If we look more widely about us, we shall see on every side old state traditions flung on the rubbish heap. There is hardly a country that has succeeded in so continually adapting her medieval constitution as to avoid its complete overthrow or its entire reconstruction. Indeed, it is one of the symptoms of our age that countries, in the enjoyment of newly awakened powers, create an entirely new form of state and consciously throw the past aside. In the midst of these scenes of construction and destruction, no tokens of the past or symbols of the present remain in existence, save the Cathedra Sancti Petri at Rome, and the Chair of King Edward at Westminster.”



THE KING'S STYLE

By A. T. BUTLER, WINDSOR HERALD

THE style of his Majesty as set out in the Proclamation in Council of December 12, 1936, and in the Act of Parliament passed on the preceding day is :—

George the Sixth by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.

The development of the Royal style can be traced through a variety of changes from the time of King George's ancestor, King Egbert, who, more than 11 centuries ago, first called himself King of the English, and from King Athelstan, who, exactly 1,000 years ago, was the first of the House of Cerdic to introduce the name of Britain into his royal style. Our information on the subject is to be obtained from Acts of Parliament in which the style is specifically laid down or set out, Declarations by Orders and Proclamations in Council, Proclamations by Garter King of Arms on the accession or at the funeral of a sovereign, inscriptions on the Great Seals or on the coinage, and the opening words of charters, letters patent, writs, and other documents emanating from the Crown.

Egbert, who became King of the West Saxons in Wessex in 802 and in 823 recovered the kingdom of Kent, which had been ruled by his father Ealmund and included at that time also Sussex, Surrey, and Essex, became overlord of the other English kingdoms of East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria, and of North Wales as well, so that it was not unreasonable that he should have been described, in a charter of 828, as *Rex Anglorum*, King of the English, as well as *Rex Saxoniorum*, or King of the Saxons, on his

coins. King Ethelwulf, his son, was content to be *Rex Occidentalium Saxonorum*, King of the West Saxons, or, rather more ambitiously, *Rex Saxoniorum*. Alfred the Great on some of his coins appears as King of the Saxons (*Saxonum*) and on others as King of the English. In charters he is sometimes *Rex Anglorum et Saxonum*, sometimes *Rex Angelsaxonum*. King Edward the Elder and King Athelstan used the last form, and the latter, who confirmed his authority far and wide by his great victory at Brunnanburh in 937, was magnificently styled *Basileus Anglorum et Imperator regum intra fines Britanniae commorantium* or *Angulsaxonum Rex totius Britanniae monarchus* and *Dispensator regni totius Albionis*. (*Basileus* at that time was the title used by the Byzantine Emperors in Constantinople, each of whom was "Christ-loving Basileus of the Romans.") His half-brother, King Edmund the Elder, was *Rex Anglorum coeterarumque gentium in circuitu persistentium* in his charters ; once, in 946, he was more precise as *Rex Anglorum necnon et Merciorum*. His regnal years are given not as *anno regni*, as was later the custom, but as *anno imperii mei*. King Edred, who drove out Eric, the last Danish King of York, in 954, added "*Gubernator et Rector*" to the titles borne by his brother and devised the new style *Cyning et Casare totius Britanniae*. King Edgar (957-975) was variously *Rex Anglorum*, *Basileus Anglorum*, and *totius Albionis Gubernator*. King Edward the Martyr during his brief reign was *Gratia Dei Rex totius Albionis*, and his unlucky evil-counselled half-brother Ethelred the Unready was variously *Anglorum Basileus*, *Anglorum Rex*, *Britanniae Basileus*, and *Albionis Basileus*. Canute the Great styled himself in his charters *Britanniae Monarchus* or *Britanniae Basileus*, but more generally *Rex Anglorum*, a restrained style which had been in use for the previous half-century on coins where there was no room for the longer and more varied titles. King Edward the Confessor retained the picturesque style of his dynasty and was *Anglorum Basileus* or *Anglorum Monarchus*, *Rex Britanniae totius*, *Rex Anglorum*, and *Angulsaxonum Rex*. King Harold II of the House of Godwin was *Rex Anglorum* on his coins.

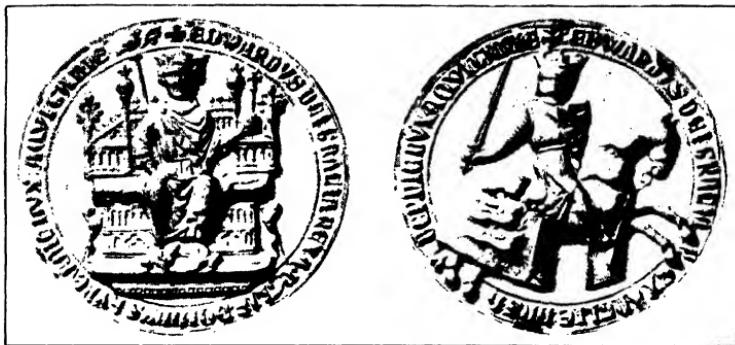
King William the Conqueror, who in charters was *Rex Anglorum* and *Dux Normanorum*, adopted an unusual style

for his first Great Seal : on the obverse *hoc Normanorum Willelmum nosce Patronum* and on the reverse *hoc Anglis Regem signo fatearis eundem* ; but his son reverted to the usage of King Edward the Martyr a century earlier and acknowledged that he was King by the Grace of God, and not, like his father, in virtue of the strength of his right hand, and ever since then even in the cases of kings like Henry IV, Richard III, Henry VII, or William III that style has been preserved.

King William Rufus had on his Great Seal *Willelmus Di gra Anglorum* ; since that time *Dei gratia* has always formed part of the royal style on the Great Seal. King Henry I, who as Prince was called Atheling by the English as having been born son of a crowned king, appears to have used similar wording on his Great Seals, but on the later ones, after his acquisition of the Duchy of Normandy from his luckless brother Robert in 1106, he included *Dux Normannorum*, as did Stephen, who made no reference on his seal to Boulogne, of which he was Count in right of his wife.

King Henry II, in the Charter of the Liberties of England (1175), is styled *Henricus Dei Gratia Rex Anglorum Dux Normannie et Aquitanie Comes Andegavie*. In some documents he also used *Dominus Hibernie* until 1178, in which year he bestowed the dominion of Ireland upon his fifth son, John. On his coins, however, he used the geographical style *Rex Anglie* instead of the national *Anglorum*. Richard I, the first of our sovereigns to bear the three leopards for his arms, used a somewhat similar style on his Great Seal, as, with the addition of *Dominus Hibernie*, did John, who in Magna Carta styled himself *Dei Gratia, Rex Anglie, Dominus Hibernie, Dux Normannie et Aquitanie, Comes Andegavie*. On his first Great Seal Henry III used the style similar to that of John. On his coins III or *Terci* appears.

King Edward I and King Edward II both used the same style, as did King Edward III until 1339, when he assumed the title of King of France together with the arms, and caused a new Great Seal to be cut with the inscription *Edwardus Dei gracia Rex Francie et Anglie Dominus Hibernie et Dux Aquitanie*. His later seals, however, omitted the name of Aquitaine, which was considered to have been



THE SEAL OF KING EDWARD I (1272-1307)
from a specimen in the British Museum (obverse and reverse)



THE SEAL OF KING HENRY VIII
also in the British Museum



THE GREAT SEAL OF KING GEORGE V

THE KING'S STYLE

merged in that of France. It seems that in charters and other documents relating to England he used *Rex Anglie et Francie*, while in those relating to France France was placed first. After the Treaty of Calais in October, 1360, King Edward relinquished the title of France, which does not occur on the seals or coinage after that date till 1369, when, the French King having broken the Treaty, Edward reassumed, with the advice of Parliament, the title of King of France. His most usual style in documents up to the end of his reign was (translated) Edward, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, though frequently Edward, the third after the Conquest, was used. In view of the adoption by the present Royal Family of the surname of Windsor it is worth noting that there are many deeds in existence at the Public Record Office in which Edward III is described as Edward of Windsor, King of England.

King Richard II used on his Great Seal the Latin equivalent of "King of France and England and Lord of Ireland," but King Henry IV placed England first. In the charters and on the coinage of both England was always placed before France, but heraldically France always enjoyed the senior position on the shield. King Henry V on his Great Seal and his coins, as well as in charters, used the style "King of England and France and Lord of Ireland." The English victories in France culminated on March 21, 1420, with the Treaty of Troyes, under which Henry, having obtained all he wished in the way of practical gains, pledged himself to abandon during the lifetime of King Charles VI his claims to the throne of France, and Charles declared Henry to be his heir and appointed him Regent of France. The royal style was then altered to "King of England, Heir and Regent of the Kingdom of France and Lord of Ireland."

King Henry VI used the same style as Henry V, but dropped the words "Heir of the Kingdom of France" after the death of his grandfather, King Charles VI, on October 21, 1422. His usual style in documents was "King of England and France and Lord of Ireland." King Henry VI "of Windsor" was the last King to use the name of his birthplace as a sort of descriptive surname,

just as King Edward I had been the last (except for Richard III, who was also called "Crouchback") to have a nickname, "Longshanks," in the often direct and uncourtly Norman fashion which styled his brother "Crouchback" (*Gibbosus*) and his nephew "Wryneck" (*Torticol*), because they were deformed and had derided his grandfather as "Lackland" (*Sansterre*).

The same official style was borne by King Edward IV, whose father, Richard, Duke of York, had been the first member of the House of Anjou to adopt Plantagenet as a surname, about 1449. King Edward V was similarly styled, but may have had no Great Seal during his short reign of 10 weeks, although one has been attributed to him. King Richard III also used this style, as did Henry VII till 1504, when he added the number VII or *Septim*: to his name on the coins, being apparently the first King to have used the numeral since Henry III. After that date the Acts of Parliament begin "Henry, the Seventh after the Conquest, by the Grace of God King . . ."

King Henry VIII used in the first part of his reign the same style as his father and in Acts of Parliament appears as "Henry, the Eighth after the Conquest. . . ." On February 2, 1521-2, King Henry, for his great zeal for the Church, was presented at Greenwich with a Bull from Pope Leo X dated at St. Peter's the 5th of the Ides of October, 1521, declaring his Majesty Defender of the Faith. In accordance with a statute previously passed it was decreed and ordained by the King on January 5 in the twenty-sixth year of his reign that the style and titles in charters, letters patent, and writs should be (translated) "Henry the Eighth, by the Grace of God King of England and France, Defender of the Faith and Lord of Ireland, and Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England." In 1541 Henry caused himself to be proclaimed King of Ireland, thus necessitating a further alteration in his style, which appeared on his new (and last) Great Seal as (translated) "Henry the Eighth, by the Grace of God King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England and also of Ireland on Earth the Supreme Head," and by Statute 35

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Henry VIII it was enacted that all his Majesty's subjects should accept and take that style, which should be annexed for ever to the Imperial crown of England.

King Edward VI used a similar style on his Great Seal and was so proclaimed at his coronation in 1546. Queen Mary, the first Queen Regnant of the realm, bore at her coronation (under the last-mentioned statute but against her will) her brother's style, including "Supreme Head," though she used on her first Great Seal (translated) "Mary by the Grace of God Queen of England, France and Ireland, first of her name, Defender of the Faith." At her marriage on July 25, 1554, to Philip of Spain, Garter King of Arms proclaimed their styles in Latin, French and English as "Philip and Mary, by the Grace of God King and Queen of England, France, Ireland, Naples and Jerusalem, Defenders of the Faith, Princes of Spain and Sicily and Elect of the Empire of Germany and Kingdom of the Romans, Archduke and Archduchess of Austria, Duke and Duchess of Milan, Burgundy and Brabant, Count and Countess of Hapsburg, Flanders and Tyrol." At the date of the marriage Philip was not King of Spain, for it was not until the following year that his father, the Emperor Charles, resigned that kingdom to him. The style proclaimed by Garter at the Queen's interment was "Mary, by the Grace of God late Queen of England, Spain, France, both the Sicilies, Jerusalem and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Archduchess of Austria, Duchess of Burgundy, Milan and Brabant, Countess of Flanders, Hapsburg and Tyrol."

Queen Elizabeth was proclaimed "Elizabeth, by the Grace of God Queen of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.," the "&c." being inserted in order to avoid for the moment the difficulty about her ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and that style appears in Latin on her Great Seals.

Queen Elizabeth's successor, under whom the Crowns became united without effusion of blood, an almost incredible achievement after the history of the previous three centuries, was James VI, King of Scots, of the House of Stewart, who, as great-great-grandson of King

Henry VII, became James I, King of England, and reintroduced, after an interval of more than five centuries, the name of Britain into the royal style. He also discontinued the use, in Scotland, of the national style *Rex Scotorum* for the geographical form *Rex Scotiae*, to conform with his style *Rex Angliae Franciae et Hiberniae* in vogue in his new dominions. In Scotland the royal style had been constant, *Rex Scotorum*, or *Rex Scottorum*, King of Scots, at least from the time of Macbeth, who ruled from 1040 to 1057, as appears in some of the earliest extant Scottish charters, although on some of his coins King Alexander III used the form *Escossie Rex*. Before the time of Macbeth it may be gathered from the chroniclers that King Kenneth MacAlpin (834-860), for all his Scottish descent, had been regarded and described as *Righ Cruithinigh*, *Rex Pictaviae*, or King of Pictland, or *Righ Cruithentuach*, *Rex Pictorum*, or King of the Picts, after 844. King Kenneth's grandson Donald MacConstantine (889-900), who enlarged his realm northwards, appears to have been the first to be styled *Righ na-h-Albann* or *Righ na-h-Albannach*, the Gaelic forms for King of Scotland or King of Scots, which often appeared in Latin as *Rex Albaniae*, and it was only about the year 1000 that the Latin form *Scotia* was adopted as the appropriate translation of *Albann*, and *Scotorum* or *Scottorum* for *Albannach*.

King James I and VI used upon his Great Seal in England (translated) "James, by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith," which style was used in statutes till the Act of Union in the reign of Queen Anne. In the proclamation of the Union of England and Scotland on October 20, 1604, he, however, assumed the style of "King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith," and this in its Latin form, but without *Fidei Defensor*, appeared on his later coins.

King Charles I was proclaimed with the same style as his father. On his second Great Seal (1626) the words *Magnae Britanniae* are used, he being thus the first of our sovereigns to use those words on his seal. King Charles II had on his Great Seal *Magnae Britanniae*, but at the proclamations of his succession and at his funeral the words



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THE KING AS HONORARY COLONEL OF THE
CAMERON HIGHLANDERS

A portrait by Mr. H. Macbeth-Raeburn, R.A.

THE KING'S STYLE

“*Angliae, Scotiae*” were used. He was the last to describe himself as *Rex Scotiae* on his coins in Scotland. On King James II's Great Seal *Magnae Britanniae* appears, though the words used in the proclamation at his coronation were “*Angliae, Scotiae*.”

King William III and Queen Mary II were proclaimed in London on February 13, 1688-89, as “William the Third and Mary, by the Grace of God King and Queen of England, France and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith,” and proclaimed again at Edinburgh on April 11, 1689, in the Scottish fashion. After Queen Mary's death it was necessary to have a new Great Seal cut for William III and the inscription on that was made to agree with the seals of his predecessors. King William was a member of the junior or Ottonian branch of the family of the Counts of Nassau, and as Prince of Orange, a title which had been inherited from the House of Châlon in 1530, was head of the House of Orange, although in the nineteenth century the Royal Family of the Netherlands, which was descended from his heir male and had lost the territory of the Principality of Orange in 1713, styled itself the House of Orange-Nassau.

Queen Anne, the last member of the House of Stewart to sit on the Throne, was proclaimed at her coronation “Anne, by the Grace of God Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith.” By the Act of Union, which received the Royal Assent on March 6, 1706-07, it was enacted that the kingdoms of England and Scotland should from and after May 1, 1707, be united into one kingdom by the name of Great Britain, and since the passing of that Act the words “Great Britain” have always been used in Acts of Parliament, Proclamations, &c., instead of “England and Scotland.”

It is to be observed that although James I adopted the term “Great Britain” as a part of his style, he did so by a Proclamation in Council and without the concurrence of Parliament. Its use by him and his successors on their Great Seals and coins, which were under the sovereign's immediate authority, did not affect the style in law, which was, until the Act of 1706, “King of England,

Scotland . . ." as was carefully observed in the titles of Acts of Parliament and by the Heralds in their proclamations.

Magnae Britanniae appeared on Queen Anne's first Great Seal as well as on the new one cut after the Union; the latter is noteworthy as showing the seated figure of Britannia in place of the usual representation of the sovereign on horseback.

King George I and King George II were proclaimed at their coronations in the same style as their predecessors and both used that in letters patent, &c., but on their Great Seals added on the reverse "Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg, Arch-Treasurer and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire." With King George I, who was the first to use *Fid. Def. (Fidei Defensor)* as Defender of the Faith on his coins, a new dynasty came to the Throne. It was generally called the House of Hanover in virtue of its German Electorate, less frequently the House of Brunswick, as the King-Elector was head only of the junior line of Luneburg-Hanover. The head of the whole family was the Duke of Brunswick, of the senior Wolfenbüttel line. This dynasty used "Guelphic" as a dynastic adjective in honour of the descent in the female line from Guelf or Welf II, Count of Altdorf in what is now Württemburg, who died in 1055, but it appears that its surname, if it really had one, was the territorial d'Este derived from the County Palatine in Italy ruled by the founder of the family Otbert I (960-975), and this was the name adopted by the children of the Duke of Sussex, whose marriage had not been recognized under the Royal Marriage Act.

The style of King George III was the same as that of George I and George II until the union with Ireland, when by Royal Proclamation of January 1, 1801, the title of King of France, together with the use of the arms, was discontinued and His Majesty's style was declared to be "George the Third by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith."

King George IV and King William IV were both styled the same as George III, as was Queen Victoria till

THE KING'S STYLE

January 1, 1877, when the title of Empress of India was added.

King Edward VII was proclaimed with the same style as his mother, but on August 17, 1901, the Royal Assent was given to The Royal Titles Act, which provided for the inclusion of the words "and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas."

This was the style of King George V until by Proclamation dated May 13, 1927, the word "and" before "Ireland" was ordered to be omitted. Since that date no further change has been made.

Before 1917 the Royal Family had no surname, although the ancestors of the present House of Saxony had been territorially described as von Wettin in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but by a Proclamation dated July 17 in that year King George V declared that the descendants of Queen Victoria should thenceforth be styled and known as the House and family of Windsor.



PRIVILEGE AND SERVICE

BESIDES the Great Officers of State, a number of persons have or claim the right to perform certain services to His Majesty on the day of his Coronation, and in some cases to receive perquisites. Most of these are the representatives of ancient tenants in serjeanty, though a few hold strictly hereditary (and sinecure) offices.

The feudal system recognized four "freehold" tenures—that is, tenures by which a free man might hold his land. They were distinguished by the nature of the service rendered to the King or other overlord, and were, in order of dignity, frankalmoign (service by prayer, the distinctively ecclesiastical tenure), knight service (with the feudal host), serjeanty, and free socage (service by money payment). It is difficult to define serjeanty more closely than by saying that it comprises any service that cannot be classified under any of the other three heads. Some serjeanty tenants served as subordinates of the Great Officers of State; many performed functions in relation to the King's hunting. But most of those with whom we are here concerned belonged to the service of the King's household. The normal serjeanty of this type involved an obligation to maintain a man who should render the specified service in the Royal kitchen, hall, pantry, or elsewhere; while on occasions of great ceremony, such as the Coronation, the tenant would be summoned to perform the service in person. As the feudal economy became obsolete the substantial day-to-day service would lapse or be compounded; the emblematic service on the Coronation day would change its character from an obligation to a privilege.

The great majority of tenants in serjeanty who still claim to render their services at the Coronation perform them either at the banquet or in the State procession from

Westminster Hall to the Abbey. Since both these historic ceremonies were omitted by William IV, and have not yet been resumed, these tenants will not on this occasion have any opportunity to exercise their privileges. The only undoubted tenant in serjeanty who has functions in the Abbey is the lord of the manor of Worksop, who has to find a rich right-hand glove for the King, to support the King's right hand, and to carry the sceptre when required. This manor, formerly belonging to the Dukes of Norfolk, has now passed by purchase to the Dukes of Newcastle.

A service rendered in the Abbey which has been frequently but quite incorrectly treated as serjeanty is the carrying of the great gold spurs. This represents an ancient ceremony in which the King was actually invested with the insignia of knighthood, of which the gold spurs were the distinctive emblems, and as early as the coronation of Richard I we find them being put on by the Marshal, obviously in his official capacity of Master of the Horse. But after the marshalship had reverted to the Crown and been re-granted to other families, the belief arose that the right (now reduced to the carrying of the spurs) had been hereditary instead of official, and it has consequently been claimed by various families descending in the female line from the Marshals of Pembroke. Some of the pedigrees put forward are mutually exclusive ; but the Court of Claims of 1936 made no serious attempt to master the genealogical problem and decided that all the seven claimants were jointly entitled to perform the service, and that it must be left to His Majesty's pleasure to say how it was to be performed.

Of services rendered at the banquet the greatest in dignity is that of the Chief Butler, who ranks as the fifth Great Officer of State. This may or may not be a serjeanty, but it is generally considered to be attached to the earldom of Arundel, and although if it were revived there would certainly be dispute about it, it would probably be allowed to the Duke of Norfolk.

The most famous of the banquet services is that of the King's Champion. This is a true serjeanty, the tenure of the manor of Scrivelsby, in Lincolnshire, and it has been

discharged by the family of Dymoke since the Coronation of Richard II. Before that it is believed to have been rendered by the Marmions, perhaps from the time of the Conquest. The office of the Champion is to ride into Westminster Hall during the banquet, riding the King's second-best horse and wearing the King's second-best suit of armour. He is escorted on the right and left by the Constable and the Marshal, also mounted, and preceded by a herald. At three points in the Hall he flings down his gage of defiance, and the herald reads his challenge to any who dispute the King's title, calling upon them to make good their claim with their bodies. The King then drinks his health from a gold cup, which the Champion receives as his fee, but if he has to fight the Champion keeps the horse and armour instead. In recent reigns, when there has been no banquet, the Champion has carried the Standard of England in the Abbey, by grace of His Majesty.

Other serjeanty services rendered in the Hall are the following :—

The lord of the manor of Great Wymondley—to be Chief Cupbearer, with the cup as his fee.

The lord of the manor of Bedford—to be Grand Almoner, with the silver alms dish as his fee.

The lord of the manor of Ashley—to be Napier, with the cloth and napkins as his fee.

The lord of the manor of Scoulton—to be Chief Lardiner, and receive the remains of the feast.

The lord of the manor of Kibworth Beauchamp—to be Chief Panneter, carrying the salt-cellars and carving-knives, which he receives as his fee, together with the coverpanes of the King's table.

The lord of the Isle of Man—to bring two falcons (a survivor of the large class of hunting serjeanties).

The lord of the manor of Addington—to bring a mess of Maupigernoun (often erroneously called Dillegrouit). This was the serjeanty of Tezelin, the Conqueror's cook.

The lord of the manor of Nether Bilsington—to present the King with three maple cups.



THE COURT OF CLAIMS FOR THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV
A sitting in the Painted Chamber of the Palace of Westminster,
from the painting by James Stephanoff



THE CORONATION COURT OF CLAIMS IN SESSION IN 1936
Left to right : Lord Cromer, the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Thankerton,
Lord Hewart, Lord Wright, the Earl of Onslow, and Lord Normand

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The lord of the manor of Liston—to bring wafers for the King to eat during the second course.

The lord of the manor of Heydon—to hold a towel for the King when he washes his hands.

The lord of the manor of Kettlebaston—to carry the rod with the dove, and the Queen's ivory rod.

The following traditional services are not serjeanties, but attached to various offices :—

The barons of the Cinque Ports—to carry the canopies over the King and Queen, sixteen barons to each canopy. This is the oldest of the Coronation services, recorded as an ancient custom in the reign of Richard I.

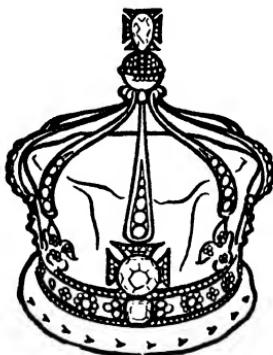
The Lord Mayor of London—to serve in botelry and assist the Chief Butler. Also to serve the King with wine while he eats the wafers presented by the lord of the manor of Liston, and to receive the gold cup containing it as his fee.

The Mayor of Oxford—also to assist the Chief Butler in botelry, and present a gilt cup of wine during the second course. The fee is the three maple cups of Nether Bilsington.

The right to render these services has to be established before a tribunal set up in the months preceding the coronation, and known as the Court of Claims. Such a court is known to have existed as early as the coronation of the Queen Consort Eleanor of Provence in 1236, but the detailed records of its proceedings begin in 1377. On that occasion the judge was John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who sat in his capacity as hereditary Lord High Steward, and after the Stewardship had merged in the Crown by the accession of John of Gaunt's son, grants of it continued to be made, *pro hac vice* in each case, to hold the Court of Claims, until the reign of Henry VII. Since then it has been customary for a body of Commissioners to hold the court, who can scarcely be regarded as even nominally representing the Steward. During the long reign of Victoria the foliage on family trees became intricate, and the transfer of landed property believed to have been once held in serjeanty multiplied disputable

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claims. Hence the proceedings of the Court of Claims held for the Coronation of Edward VII fill a bulky volume. In 1910, however, the court in nearly every case merely reaffirmed the decision of its predecessor, and the same occurred in 1936. The only disputed claim on either occasion related to the carrying of the gold spurs, which has been mentioned above. In 1910 the Commissioners, though obviously in a mental fog, gave a decision which, dubious as most genealogists consider it, is at least a decision. In 1936 it would appear from their judgment that they simply gave up the problem as insoluble and allowed a share in the privilege to anyone who cared to come into court and claim it.



KING AND PRIEST

BY L. G. WICKHAM LEGG

The spiritual significance to be attached to the rite of Coronation was hotly debated throughout the Middle Ages. One school of thought maintained that it was a sacrament and that by the sacred unction the King acquired some kind of priestly authority. From this doctrine flowed consequences of vital political import, affecting the whole question of the relations of Church and State, and hence it became the subject of a long controversy, the main issues of which are outlined in the following chapter.

THAT consecration, anointing and coronation conferred a clerical character, and even miraculous powers of healing upon the ruler, was an opinion widely held in the Middle Ages. Even the Roman Church admitted that the Emperor was a clerk, for a rubric in the Imperial Coronation service directed that at a particular spot the Pope was to "make him a clerk." Apart from this, the Emperor was asserted to be "not altogether a layman"; he wore a stole crossed like a priest, and, when at Rome for Christmas, vested as a deacon, he read the Gospel *Exiit edictum a Caesare Augusto* with the crown on his head and the sword in his hand. He was also *ex officio* a canon of St. Peter's.

The same idea prevailed in England, where the Anonymous of York (a contemporary of St. Anselm) vigorously took up the cudgels against the Papalists and asserted that in virtue of his anointing the King, who had no superior, became the supreme governor (*summus rector*) as well as the pacific propitiator of the Christian people, that is to say, of Holy Church, through which he can fulfil the office of Christ in remitting sin and reconciling sinners.

Henry VIII himself never went to the lengths of this medieval pamphleteer, but extreme views never caricature something which does not exist, and Henry III's inquiries as to the effect of anointing upon the King are likewise evidence of the existence of a school holding that the King is no mere layman. Grosseteste, to whom the inquiry was addressed, was bound as a canonist to deny that the royal anointing conferred any sacerdotal powers, and when, after the discovery of the miraculous oil delivered to St. Thomas of Canterbury, Edward II applied to John XXII for leave to be anointed with it, the Pope seized the opportunity to remind the King that the royal anointing "makes no impression on the soul." This eagerness to warn the King is evidence of the prevalence of the doctrine in the fourteenth century, and as the century progresses other evidence appears. In 1359 Justice Skipwith laid down, none too lucidly, that anointed kings are spiritually capable of jurisdiction, and it is notable that this utterance coincides with the rise of Wyclif, who wrote that the royal power was an order (*ordo*) in the Church. Under the influence of despair of the Church ever being able to reform herself, louder expression is given to these ideas in the fifteenth century, and the canonist Lyndwood, while maintaining that the King is not an ecclesiastical person, but *persona saecularis*, describes the theory that he is part layman, part priest, as being the view of "certain people." Even at the beginning of the seventeenth century a prolix discourse by James I on some theological point prompted a courtier to remark that he had never before understood the common law maxim that *rex est persona mixta cum sacerdote*.

In France, where the King communicated in both kinds like a priest, even stronger assertions were accompanied by action, and the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges modified by royal authority the decrees of a General Council which it recognized as superior to the Pope. In the powers he thus claimed to legislate on Church affairs, Charles VII was not far removed from Henry VIII.

Theories of this sort were not discomfited by the Church in early days. In the coronation service drawn up for King Edgar at Bath under the auspices of St. Dunstan not only is the King to be anointed like a bishop with

chrism as well as holy oil, but the prayer said over him immediately before anointing contains the supplication that he may "nourish and teach, defend and instruct the Church and people belonging to it"—a responsible duty indeed for a mere layman—and it is not surprising that Archbishop Sancroft removed the words, doubtless finding it difficult to pray that James II might direct such attentions to the Church of England. Another passage told the King that as Christ was mediator between God and man, so he was mediator between clergy and people.

Nor did the Popes at first display any hostility to these ideas. On the contrary, they rather welcomed the introduction of the rite of anointing, for they gained thereby a voice in the appointment of emperors and kings, and an opportunity to apply the test of fitness, of which they could judge, as against a right founded on mere consanguinity. But when the Hildebrandine papacy entered upon the investiture contest, it realized that to recognize the Emperor's clerical character would be to surrender the outworks of its position into the enemy's hands, and the eagerness of Grosseteste, John XXII and Lyndwood to purge the royal office of any clerical stigma is intelligible. For if the Emperor is *persona clericalis*, then he can justify his claim to appoint to benefices.

The Court of Rome did not fail to fit the action to the word. The Pope is no longer to make the Emperor a clerk; when the number of sacraments is defined the royal anointing is not among them; in 1204, in order to emphasize the difference between the episcopal and royal anointing, Innocent III directs that in future the Emperor shall be anointed only on one shoulder and arm, not on the breast, hands, or head, as continued to be the case at Rheims and Westminster. Not that the English coronation escaped the Hildebrandine influence. For at least a hundred and fifty years before the coronation of Edward II the use of chrism was discontinued. In 1308, however, it reappears, continues to the Revolution, and is used to-day.

The rival theories are reflected in the interpretations put upon the coronation robes. On the one hand, was not Henry VI "rayde lyke as a bysshopp shuld say masse

with a dalmatyk and a stole about his necke, but not crossed, and sandalled. And also a hosyn and shone and copys and gloves like a bisshopp"? Even to-day the comparison is arresting. On the other hand is a theory, not less plausible, that the similarity is mere coincidence and springs from no set purpose. The *colobium sindonis* is not an alb, but a white garment put upon the King like the white coif and gloves, to protect the anointed places ; the *supertunica* is no dalmatic but the tunic upon which the sword is girt ; the *armilla* and *pallium*, neither stole nor cope, but belonging to one another (as the eagles indicate with which both are embroidered), are the *loron* and *chlamys* of the Byzantine emperors.

In these rival theories we have a good illustration of the dualism of the Middle Ages. On the one side is the common law with its principle of *persona mixta* and Bracton designating the King as *Dei vicarius* ; on the other is the canon law, maintaining that, for all his anointing and his bishop-like robes, the King is a layman, with Lyndwood dismissing him as *persona saecularis*. Both theories stand face to face to one another ; both are the children of the Middle Ages.



THE GREAT OFFICERS OF STATE

AT the coronation of a new king, and on that occasion only, the effective ministers of contemporary government retire into a secondary place, and the emblazoned figures of an older England step out of the shadows of history to encompass and serve the Sovereign. The reconstruction of the feudal court of the Norman kings is almost complete. It is true that the Justiciar, that mighty potentate who was once the king's understudy, *ex-officio* regent during his master's frequent absences in his duchy of Normandy or his county of Anjou and in the interregnum between the death of a sovereign and the coronation of his successor, is no longer visible under his own name. The loss of the Royal dominions across the Channel deprived him long ago of his great administrative functions, but his judicial powers were only the more greatly developed. His personality became divided between two Chief Justices, of King's Bench and Common Pleas, to be reunited after many centuries by Queen Victoria's Parliament, and to-day what is left of the vast prerogatives of the greatest office of State that ever existed in this country are stowed away in small compass beneath the robes of the Lord Chief Justice of England. In yielding precedence to the Lord Chancellor he was deferring to one who was once his humble subordinate, the clerk employed to look after the king's seal.

It is true also that two other very exalted officials were not present in the visible form that could most enhance their ceremonial value. Both the Lord High Treasurer and the Lord High Admiral outlived the Justiciar in the plenitude of their power and the unity of their persons ; but although the offices still theoretically exist, they are

held in suspension among Lords Commissioners for executing them, and even a coronation cannot put these feudal Humpty-Dumpties together again.

Those officers are more fortunate who, disappeared entirely from the workaday life of the nation, have escaped grinding into fragments by the mill of political development, and so step reincarnate into the lighted arena of the coronation as if their splendid accoutrements had been laid away for centuries in lavender. Chief of these is the Lord High Steward. Since the decline of the Justiciar he is traditionally the first of the Great Officers of State, and he has had his day among the mightiest of the effective rulers of the land. Yet it is difficult to say what there is in the nature of the office to invest its holder with great authority. Etymologically he was the sty-ward, although it should be noted that the time when he kept the sty was earlier than the date when that mysterious part of the house came to be allotted to the pigs. In any case the etymological origin of the English word has little to do with it, for the Lord High Steward's name is only a translation of the Norman-Latin *dapifer* or *senescallus*, which is equivalent to the Anglo-Saxon "dish-thegn." His function was the humble one of putting the dishes on the king's table. He was in fact a domestic servant. But domestic service to a feudal king was a peculiar institution. Out of the king's household grew in the Middle Ages the whole system of national administration, and the king's servants took to themselves the government of the country, just as members of the Government still call themselves the king's servants. For instance, his successive private secretaries established themselves as high public officers, Chancellor, Lord Privy Seal, and Secretary of State; and so it was with the Steward, with the difference that he never had any very clearly defined function. The office was sought after, not because of recognized powers belonging to it, but because it gave to a nobleman already powerful in his own fiefs a status at Court which he could turn to account according to his personal capacities. What made it especially an object of ambition, more, for instance, than the kindred office of Butler, was the rise to great power of the Dapifer of France. When this official, at the

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end of the eleventh century, succeeded in making himself under the king the head of French administration, it seems to have been assumed among the English nobility, who of course belonged to an international caste equally at home on either side of the Channel, that the same authority necessarily belonged to their own Stewardship, and there was keen competition for the office—the keener after the accession of Henry II, who as Count of Anjou claimed to be hereditary *dapifer* to the French king, and whose own *dapifer* was the chief officer of the county. Another fact perhaps enhancing the attraction of the office was that its first holder after the Conquest was the great William FitzOsbern, Earl of Hereford, who had been the Conqueror's steward in Normandy. The complexity of the early grants has made necessary the hypothesis that under the Norman kings there was more than one Stewardship ; and when we find between the years 1141 and 1155 as many as four distinct grants to such great potentates as Mandeville, Earl of Essex, Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, Beaumont, Earl of Leicester, and Humphrey de Bohun, ancestor of the Earls of Hereford, it is possible that they do not all refer to the same office. Soon afterwards, however, it becomes clear that there is a single Stewardship, and that the right to it is in dispute between the Beaumonts and the Bigods. The Beaumonts, who were interested in the office largely because it would fortify their contention that they were heirs of FitzOsbern, eventually bought off the Bigod claim, and from them it passed by inheritance to Amauri de Montfort, who made over his rights to his younger brother, the famous Simon, Earl of Leicester. It was Simon who pressed the rights of the Stewardship to their utmost height, basing upon it much of his claim to control the Royal administration, and it would seem arrogating to himself jurisdictions that properly belonged to the Justiciar. Yet, in the view of the chief authority on the Stewardship, the late L. W. Vernon Harcourt, all this was pure usurpation :

Henry may have found it difficult to convince him that the sole duty properly belonging to Simon de Montfort as hereditary steward was the business of chief sewer at particular State banquets. Nevertheless such was the case, and moreover there was nothing intrinsically strange in the matter. The strangeness lay rather in the circumstance

that the French and other *dapifères* had soared to precedence over all other functionaries, than in the fact that the English dish-thegn was a dish-thegn still.

This, as Round argues, is no doubt an exaggeration ; but even though the Steward was always a great officer of State, his powers in Henry III's time were as ill-defined as ever. Still, they had proved in Simon's hands sufficiently formidable for the king, after his death and forfeiture, to reserve them for his own younger son, Edmund Crouchback, and then only on a life tenure. Edward I, however, made his brother's stewardship hereditary, and it descended with the Earldoms of Lancaster and Leicester to their heiress Blanche, who conveyed it to her husband, John of Gaunt. With the accession of Duke John's son Henry of Bolingbroke as Henry IV it merged in the Crown, and has never since been granted to a subject except for a few hours at a time—a sufficient proof that, like the great Lancaster inheritance itself, it was considered too great a position to be entrusted by the king to a potential rival.

The later history of the Stewardship is chiefly connected with the institution of Trial by Peers. From almost the beginning of Parliament the House of Lords, when summoned to try one of their number on a charge of treason or felony, were accustomed to sit under the presidency of the Lord High Steward. There is, however, a yearbook of the first year of Henry IV purporting to record the trial of an earl, implicated in the attempt to restore Richard II, when Parliament was not sitting. The court consisted of the Lord High Steward as judge and a jury of peers. This record Harcourt argued, with great cogency, to be forged. It is, however, the basis of the practice, which became established under the Tudors, of indicting peers, between the Sessions of Parliament, before a court similarly composed. The great advantage to the Tudor monarchy of trial in the court of the Lord High Steward was that, in accordance with the alleged precedent of 1400, it was unnecessary to summon the whole peerage. A sufficient number selected by the Steward himself was all that was required, and they sat as a jury with the Steward as judge, instead of being themselves



LORD CREWE
(Lord High Constable)



LORD SALISBURY
(Lord High Steward)



THE DUKE OF NORFOLK
(Earl Marshal)



LORD ANCASTER
(Lord Great Chamberlain)

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both judges and jury, as when they sat in Parliament. This allowed the Crown through its nominee the Steward to "pack" the court ; and the power was ruthlessly used. The court became a far more terrible engine than the Star Chamber for the destruction of ambitious noblemen ; and when the nobility triumphed over the Crown at the Revolution one of their first cares was to curb the power of the Lord High Steward by enacting that in cases of treason he should be bound to summon the whole peerage to his jury. Since that Act, which was passed in 1695, the court of the Lord High Steward has in fact never sat ; but his Grace is still occasionally called upon to preside at the trial of a peer in Parliament. As recently as December, 1935, it will be remembered, the white wand of the Lord High Steward was conferred for one day on Lord Hailsham in order that he might preside over the House of Lords when it acquitted Lord de Clifford on an indictment of manslaughter.

Another Court over which the Lord High Steward presided was the Court of Claims. This is the tribunal that adjudicates on the claims of subjects to occupy ceremonial positions and render services to the Sovereign on the day of his coronation. A Court sat for the coronation of Queen Eleanor in 1236, but the name of its presiding officer is not recorded. The first Court whose proceedings are fully on record is that of Richard II in 1377, and over this John of Gaunt presided as Lord High Steward. But this jurisdiction was comparatively short-lived ; Henry VIII appointed Lords Commissioners to hold the Court, and this has been the practice ever since.

Apart from the trial of peers, the only surviving functions of the Lord High Steward are his ceremonial duties at the coronation. He takes precedence of all the officers of State, and in the procession he carries St. Edward's Crown itself. For this purpose a Lord High Steward is appointed to hold office for the day of the coronation only ; but whereas for the trial of a peer the choice always falls on a great lawyer (usually the Lord Chancellor), on this occasion high hereditary rank is preferred, and the white wand was accordingly given to Lord Salisbury.

The Lord High Steward is not to be confused with the Lord Steward of the Household. This official is a relic of the common medieval practice whereby great dignitaries charged with domestic duties, such as those of the dish-thegn, delegated the actual work to subordinates, who often, as in this case, developed into permanent officials and continued to discharge important functions long after those of their nominal superiors had become obsolete. The Lord Steward is still an important functionary in the Royal entourage ; but he is not a Great Officer of State.

The next two officers, the Lord High Constable and the Earl Marshal, may be considered together. Etymologically both belong to the King's equestrian establishment ; *comes stabuli* is the count of the stables, and *marescallus*, from an old Teutonic word for a horse, means a farrier. When they emerge into history the Constable is, under the King, the commander of the feudal host, and the Marshal is his chief of staff and Master of the Horse. It was in their strictly military capacity that they defied King Edward I on a famous occasion in 1297. The King had called upon his Constable, Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and his Marshal, Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, to lead an army to Gascony while he himself was campaigning in Flanders. Both refused, the Marshal saying, "As belongs to me, by hereditary right, I will go in front of the host before your face ; without you, sir King, I am not bound to go, and go I will not." There was an outburst of the furious Angevin temper, and Edward exclaimed, "By God, earl, you shall either go or hang," to be countered with "By that same oath, sir King, I will neither go nor hang." The earls maintained their refusal and were dismissed from their offices ; but they raised an armed force against the King and secured a confirmation of the Charters and their own restoration ; moreover, they did not go to Gascony.

The Constable, again with the Marshal as his assistant, presided over the Court of Chivalry, which was originally a court-martial, and existed at least as early as the reign of Edward I. It had jurisdiction over cases of honour, and over the kindred cases relating to heraldic arms. By an extension, much condemned by the common lawyers,

it acquired jurisdiction over those "appeals of treason or felony" which were so popular in the fourteenth century as a means of attacking the political enemies either of a nobleman or of the King himself. The law administered was the civil (or Roman) law; but the procedure was generally by ordeal of battle. In the fifteenth century appeals of treason, which had already come to be made almost entirely at the instance of the Crown, became less frequent owing to the vogue of attainder; and they were ultimately superseded entirely by indictments in the Steward's court. But the Court of Chivalry had a kind of epilogue to its history in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, when it performed the functions in adjudicating on peerage claims now delegated to the Committee for Privileges of the House of Lords. By that time the Constable had disappeared from its constitution, and the Marshal presided. Probably the Court could still meet to adjudicate on disputes relating to coat-armour; but it appears to have no power to execute its judgments.

The office of Constable was probably granted by Henry I to one Walter of Gloucester, and was certainly enjoyed by his son Miles. It was early recognized as hereditary and Miles's daughter carried it by marriage into the great house of Bohun, which was raised to the earldom of Hereford in 1200. In 1373 the male line of Bohun became extinct, and their vast inheritance was divided between co-heiresses, who married two princes of the Royal house—Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, the son, and Henry of Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby, the grandson, of Edward III. Henry of Bolingbroke having ascended the throne as Henry IV, the claim to the Constableship was treated as dormant; but on the extinction of the Lancastrian line by the death of Henry VI the double inheritance ended, and the sole representation of the Bohuns vested in the Stafford Dukes of Buckingham, the descendants of Thomas of Woodstock. Duke Henry was accordingly acknowledged as Constable by Richard III, who depended greatly on his support; but he rose in revolt against his patron, to end his life on the block at Salisbury. By posthumous attainder his honours were

forfeited ; but his son, having been restored in blood, claimed the Constableship in 1514. Owing to some curious misconception he argued that the office was attached to the tenure of three Bohun manors, of which he held two, the third having passed to the Crown ; and although modern research has established that one of these manors was held by knight-service, and the other only came to the Bohuns when they had been Constables for many generations, the Court accepted the contention and gave a judgment that, treated as a precedent, has led subsequent lawyers into labyrinths of contradiction. Having won his case, Buckingham embarked on a career of ostentatious magnificence which aroused the jealousy of Wolsey and the alarm of the King. A pretext was found to commit him to the headsman, and his office of Constable has never since been granted save for the single day of the Coronation. On that day the Lord High Constable accompanies the Earl Marshal, walking on his right as his superior officer, and bearing a black staff.

The Constable for the present Coronation is Lord Crewe.

The marshalcy can also be traced to the reign of Henry I, when it was successfully claimed by one Gilbert and John his son. The most eminent of this family was the famous William the Marshal, who acquired by marriage the earldom of Pembroke, and was the chief lay negotiator of Magna Carta. His male issue became extinct in 1245, and the marshalcy was granted to the eldest co-heirs, the Bigods of Norfolk. The last of the Bigod earls, Roger, he who would neither go nor hang, was induced to surrender his hereditary right in the marshalcy in return for a life-grant and a money compensation, and so in 1306 the office lapsed to the Crown. Thereafter there were grants to various great nobles, sometimes for life, sometimes in tail male to families that quickly expired. In 1377 it was unsuccessfully claimed by a woman, Margaret Countess of Norfolk, daughter of Thomas of Brotherton, who had been granted it by his brother Edward II. In 1385 an hereditary grant was made to her son, Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, founder of a line of marshals (now

called earl-marshals), which survived at least one forfeiture and became extinct with John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, in 1476. His co-heirs were the Berkeleys, earls of Nottingham, and the Howards, soon to be made dukes of Norfolk, and each of these families had grants of the marshalcy in turn. But others, strangers in blood to the Mowbrays, also held it—Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, for instance, and Henry, Duke of York, afterwards Henry VIII, who was made Earl Marshal of England at the age of three. Gradually, however, the Howards acquired a predominant interest, and in 1672 the office was made hereditary for them in the person of Henry, Earl of Norwich, who succeeded to the dukedom of Norfolk in 1677.

The Earl Marshal, unlike the Steward and the Constable, remains continuously existent. He has been *ex officio* head of the College of Arms since its incorporation, and is the highest authority on all questions of Royal ceremonial. He therefore superintends the whole arrangements for the Coronation, having special authority over the Abbey, in contradistinction to the Chamberlain, whose sphere of activity is the Hall. He claims as fee “the king’s palfrey with its harness, and also the Queen’s, used when they come to the Coronation ; the cloth spread behind the King at dinner, the chines of all swans and cranes served up, and fines not above three shillings and fourpence exacted on the day.”

Like the Earl[’] Marshal, the Lord Great Chamberlain maintains a continuous existence, but between coronations is comparatively a shadow, having no more than a formal jurisdiction over the precincts of the Palace of Westminster —*i.e.*, the Houses of Parliament. He is by origin the King’s body-servant, and the head of his personal household, functions long ago delegated to his deputy, the Lord Chamberlain. At the Coronation he becomes an important official, though less important on occasions like the present, when the banquet in Westminster Hall is omitted. In the Abbey he brings the oblations, strips the King for his unction, girds him with the sword, and touches his heels with the gold spurs ; his other pretensions

may be gathered from the petition he presents to the Court of Claims :

That he may have livery and lodging in the King's Court at all times, and bring to His Majesty on the day of His Majesty's Royal Coronation His Majesty's shirt, stockings, and drawers : that your Petitioner together with the Lord Chamberlain of the Household for the time being may dress His Majesty to all his apparel on that day : and that your Petitioner may have all profits and fees thereunto belonging, viz., forty yards of crimson velvet for his robes against the day of His Majesty's Coronation, together with the bed wherein the King lays the night previous to the Coronation, with all the valances and curtains thereof and all the cushions and clothes within the chamber, together with the furniture of the same : and also the night robe of the King wherein His Majesty rested the night previous to the Coronation, and likewise to serve His Majesty with water on the said day of His Royal Coronation and to have the basins and towels and the cup of assay for his fee.

This claim caused considerable scandal to that staid matron Queen Anne, when the Earl of Lindsey demanded to invade her bedchamber on the morning of her Coronation, to bring her "*sa chemise et ses bases et privie draps*," and to dress her in them for the ceremony.

The genealogical history of the office is intricate. In Domesday it was held by Robert Malet, but Henry I granted it to Aubrey de Vere, father of the first Earl of Oxford, and his heirs in fee. The Veres, however, forfeited the Chamberlainship in 1265 by their adherence to Simon de Montfort, and although the Commons petitioned for their restoration when it was granted for life to the Earl of Huntingdon in 1391, they did not recover it until Earl John had the good fortune to back the winning side at Bosworth. In 1526, however, occurred a disputed succession between the daughters of the earl who died that year and the heir male to whom the earldom passed. The Crown refused the office to both, and henceforth granted it only for life, although the fact that the first grantee on those terms was the new earl created a false impression that it had been confirmed to the heir male, and was afterwards so quoted as a precedent, to the great darkening of counsel. Thomas Cromwell had a life grant in 1540, but the Vere who supported Queen Mary, by hard lying about the continuity of his ancestors' tenure, got the Chamberlainship back. In the effort to attach

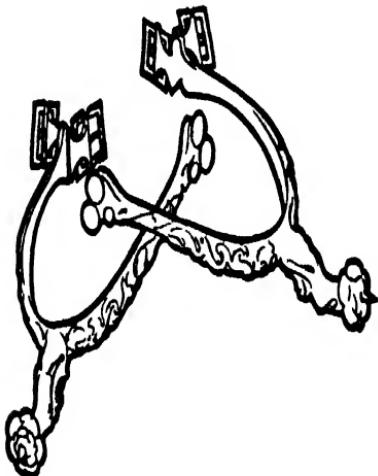
it for the future to the earldom he executed a private deed of entail in 1562. The validity of this deed came before the Court of Claims for the Coronation of Charles I, when the claim of the then Earl of Oxford, a young and impoverished captain fighting in the wars in the Low Countries, was opposed by Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, the son of his aunt and head of a new family of successful tradesmen. The heirs general were the three half-sisters of the late earl, but the Court, by a majority of one, set aside both their claim and the deed of entail, and conferred the office on Willoughby. Whether their decision was influenced by his great wealth we cannot say ; but the tragedy of the disinheritance of one of the oldest noble families in the land moved Chief Justice Crewe to sonorous eloquence :

Time hath his revolution. There must be a period and an end to all temporal things, *finis rerum*, an end of names and dignities, and whatsoever is terrene ; and why not of de Vere ? For where is Bohun, where is Mowbray, where is Mortimer ? Nay, which is more and most of all, where is Plantaganet ? They are entombed in the urns and sepulchres of mortality. And yet let the name and dignity of de Vere endure for as long as it pleaseth God.

With all these tangled precedents behind it the Lord Great Chamberlainship came under consideration by the House of Lords in 1781, on the death without issue of the last Duke of Ancaster, heir of the Willoughby d'Eresby claim. His co-heiresses were his two sisters, and, after a long debate, complicated by the acceptance of the quite untenable proposition that the Veres had held in serjeanty, the House decided that the Chamberlainship belonged to the sisters equally, and they must execute its functions by a joint deputy, agreed on by themselves, not below the degree of a knight, and acceptable to the King. It became customary for the heirs of the two lines to officiate in alternate reigns ; but when the principle of 1781 was reaffirmed in 1902 one line had itself been subdivided by two co-heirs. The office is therefore shared between the Marquess of Cholmondeley, the Earl Carrington, and the Earl of Ancaster, who are required to nominate unanimously a joint deputy as in 1781. They still agree to officiate in turn, but Lord Cholmondeley, as holder of

CROWN AND EMPIRE

a moiety of the office, has two turns to the one each of the other two. His turn, however, would have come round at the coronation of Edward VIII, and he therefore missed it. Lord Ancaster will discharge the office for King George VI.



THE SCOTTISH CORONATION CEREMONY

BY THOMAS INNES OF LEARNEY, ALBANY HERALD

THE coronation of the Scottish kings is of special interest because although it combined the ritual of the Picts and Scots with contemporary religious ceremonial, its outstanding characteristic was that it preserved the ancient features of the formal inauguration of a Celtic chief. The King of Scots subsequently became monarch of the most perfect example of a feudal state in Europe, yet he remained essentially the *Ard-Righ-Alban*, High Chief of the Picts and Scots, around whom were grouped the peerage (essentially an order of earls—representing the provincial sub-kings), and the feudal baronage (*grad flaith*) and chiefs (*grad fine*) representing the patriarchal system which still forms the basis of Scottish social organization.

In the Celto-Dalriadic inauguration, the king, chief, or chieftain (and more or less similar rites applied to all these) stood upon an inaugural stone, on which was carved the footprint of the founder of the dynasty, while the Pictish form of the ceremony was the enthroning of the *righ* upon a sacred seat such as the Stone of Scone, now in Westminster Abbey. When the candidate had been placed upon the stone, the regal oaths were administered, and the inauguration consisted of delivery of the sword and sceptre, followed by a proclamation of the pedigree in virtue of which the candidate was entitled to his office. Although the diadem had long been a feature of princely rank, it was apparently not until the accession of The Bruce that the crown first appears as a necessary symbol, nor was it until the coronation of David II that unction, after many requests, was granted by the Pope, though it seems both had long been used in the Scottish ceremonial, no doubt without Papal authority.

The ancient inaugural ceremony can thus be traced back to usage of pre-historic ages, when the crown was hereditary in the royal race but elective as regards the individual, who was chosen from the members of the royal *dearbhfine* (a group of the nineteen nearest of blood) and the electors were the "Seven Earls of Scotland," traditionally representatives of the "Seven Sons of Cruithne the Pict." Each of those *mormaers* was similarly selected from his own comital *dearbhfine*, presumably by the chieftains of his own tribe. Lineal inheritance, as regards both Crown and other "impartable inheritances," seems to have been introduced in Scotland by a law of King Malcolm MacKenneth, along with a system of *tanistry* by which the reigning *Ard-Righ*, or chief, "designated" the relative who was to be his successor, thereby avoiding dispute and leading to continuity of succession. Election was thereafter competent only when the throne became "*de jure* and *de facto* vacant," as the "Seven Earls" explained in 1292, but which contingency was held not to have occurred on the death of Alexander III.

In a Celtic inauguration, and so therefore in the Scottish coronation, the two chief functionaries were the Inaugurator-Sennachie, and the Keeper of the place of inauguration, offices which in the course of evolution naturally devolved upon, or evolved into, the Lord Lyon King of Arms and the Earl Marischal respectively, though the latter shared his responsibility with the Constable, who was responsible for keeping order "without the bars," while the Marischal was custodian of the sacred area itself, which in the latter stages of the royal court was held to begin halfway up the Tolbooth stair, evidently a quaint survival of some boundary encircling the upper portion of the sacred Mote Hill of Scone. The Lord Lyon, as High-Sennachie, entrusted with preservation of the royal genealogy, remained throughout successive ages the presiding "Inaugurator" at whose instance the whole coronation ceremony proceeded, though after the advent of Christianity, the unction, coronation, and actual delivery of the symbols naturally passed to ecclesiastics. Lyon (as indicated by his recital of the Dalriadic genealogy) was evidently the Inaugurator of the Celto-Dalriadic

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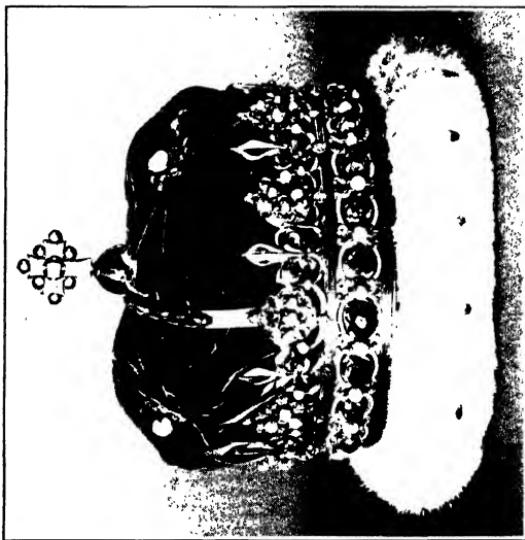
house, for the Earls of Fife long exercised the Pictish rite of enthroning the *Ard-Righ* upon the Mote Hill of Scone, and were thus the hereditary inaugurators of the Pictish royal line.

The earliest detailed accounts are those of the coronations of Alexander III and Robert II, while the fullest are the official report of the "ancient forme" of the ceremony, made by Lord Lyon Sir Jerome Lindsay of Annatland to the Privy Council in 1628, and Lord Lyon Sir James Balfour's account of the subsequent ceremony, and that of Charles II in 1651.

The King—sitting under a cloth of estate—was on his coronation morning called on by six representatives of each "Estate"—peerage, baronage (lairds), burgesses, and clergy—and, at any rate in the earlier form was offered the crown, and asked "if he were lawful successor or not." This preliminary evidently represented the surviving form of an intimation of result of the *dearbhfine* Election with a modification involved by the later principle of "designation" or *tanistry*. Upon the King's acceptance (greeted by the invocation : "God blisse you Sir,"), the cloth of estate—carried by six earls' sons—was closed, and he was led in procession by Lyon, wearing his heraldic crown (and carrying presumably the royal diadem), the two principal heralds bearing the sword and sceptre, accompanied by the bishops, Constable, and Marischal (Keeper of the inaugural ground) to the Abbey Church adjoining the sacred mound, or to a selected cathedral. Having arrived at the sacred spot—the approach to which was spread with a carpet of blue—the Lord Lyon was called on by the Bishop or Marischal to "shew the King's pleasure" (*i.e.*, intimate that the *tanister* was willing to accept the crown), when the commissioners answered : "God bless him who is to be our King," and the people shouted "Bring him to us, God bless him, and us for his cause." The cloth of estate was opened, and with crown, sword, and sceptre borne before him, and a bishop on either hand, the Lyon going before, crying : "Heir comes the King!" to which the people answered "God bless him," the *Ard-Righ*-designate was led to the inaugural seat (which in the fourteenth century came to take the

place of the Stone of Scone), amidst the singing of the opening anthem, a noble and appropriate version of Psalm lxxxiv 9, "Behold, Oh Lord our Protector, and look upon the face of this Anointed," only found in the Scottish coronation ritual. Usually the ecclesiastical part of the ceremony took place at the High Altar, but apparently on other occasions all was enacted in the open "theatre" of inauguration at or near "the chair." The regalia having been placed on a table covered with green and gold, the Bishop, according to some accounts, asked the assembled multitude, "If they be pleased to have their King, so resting, their Chief?" and on their acceptance was sung the anthem, *Firmetur manus tua*.

Meantime Lyon brought the sacred oil in two "piggs" (earthenware flasks)—presumably one for Dalriada, the other for Pictavia. Then followed the ecclesiastical consecration of unction, the sermon, and the enrobing with the royal robes which had been brought by the Constable and Marischal, and with which the King was invested by the two officiating bishops, with the words: "Indue, Rex, tunicam justitiae." Lyon now removed his crown, laying it at the King's feet, saying the words: "I surrender and command the King to be crowned," an evident survival of the early electoral period when the "Inaugurator-Druid" apparently presided in the electoral conclave, in a manner perhaps analogous to what in a Presbyterian benefice is termed "a moderator in the vacancy." The regalia was then delivered by the hand of Lyon, no longer to the *Ard-Righ* directly, but to the officiating prelate, by whom with appropriate prayer and injunction the King was therewith endowed, the Constable girding on the sword and the Marischal affixing the spurs of chivalry. The girding was a chivalric innovation, for in the earlier form the *Ard-Righ* held in one hand the sword and in the other the sceptre, which were delivered by Lyon to the Bishop, and from him to the royal hand. Thereafter Lyon, arrayed in the flowing scarlet mantle of the royal sennachie, falling on bended knee before the enthroned *Ard-Righ*, declaimed in Gaelic both the sennachaidal blessing and the royal genealogy back to Fergus Mor MacErc, founder of the royal line:



THE CROWN OF SCOTLAND
now in the Crown Room at Edinburgh Castle.
Left : Medal commemorating the coronation of
King Charles I at Scone.
Right : Medal commemorating the coronation of
King Charles II at Scone



THE SCOTTISH CORONATION CEREMONY

“Beannach Dhe Righ na-h-Alba, Sheumas mic Sheumas,” &c.

The lengthening genealogy was later restricted to the Sovereign himself and six predecessors, making seven generations. The King having in his Coronation Oath promised “to be a loving father to his people,” the earls and *vicecomes* next gave their homage, and then Lyon proclaimed “the people’s obligatory oath” of allegiance, to which the assembled multitude signified assent by raising their hands and calling “Amen.” Here one perceives the primitive tribal-allodial acknowledgment by the sub-kings and the “haill people.” Chieftains, *as such*, would give theirs to their own provincial mormaers. But the new land-system, which was soon to undermine the regality of the *mormaer-righ*, required an additional ceremony, which, however, was kept (and in proper chronological sequence) distinct from the older rites evincing tribal allegiance. Next, therefore, it came to be (and is already found in the earliest recorded forms) that those who held their fiefs of the crown performed *their* feudal homage. The perfect territorial structure of medieval Scotland is illustrated from this ceremony being not confined, as in England, to the peerage, but characteristically including *all* ranks of crown vassals—that is, the whole baronage (lairds) and freeholders, and the corporate vassals (representatives of burghs), at any rate “one of each estait” who gave the homage for their fiefs by “touching the crown,” which for this ceremony was removed by the Constable and set upon a cushion at the Sovereign’s feet. The Bishop meantime “put on the King’s hatt”—perhaps, in origin at least, the “chieftain’s bonnet” or “cap of estate” which still occupies the centre of crown and coronets. The proceedings thereafter closed by a psalm or anthem, followed by a fanfare of trumpets, and the thrice-repeated invocation: “God keep the King.” When we pass from the general form of the ceremony to the individual, instances of which record is preserved, the earliest show a period when the pagan (subsequently civil) ceremonies proceeded alongside a Christian ordination, such as the Mass at the inauguration of the Lords of the Isles, and the ecclesiastical ordination

by Saint Columba, of Aidan M'Gabhrain, where, however, the ecclesiastical ceremony took place at Iona, but the tribal inauguration as usual at the Stone of Dunadd. Although the *Liber Vitreus* ("Glass Book of the Ordination of Kings") appeared only in vision to the Saint, it is thought there was even then a "Book of Laws and Ordinances" in the custody of the tribal sennachie. The inauguration of our other early kings is usually referred to in some such simple phrase as that the *Ard-Righ* was inaugurated *more Regni* ("according to the custom of the kingdom"), but accounts of the coronation of Alexander III have been preserved in some detail.

This ceremony, at Scone, July 3, 1249, began with a dispute as to whether a king could be crowned before he was knighted, a preliminary objection which was disposed of by the Bishop of St. Andrews. He was then both crowned and placed in the royal seat (then kept in a shrine beside the cathedral choir, though Fordun says it was taken outside—presumably for the occasion) by the Earl of Fife, who then gave *his* homage and fealty, and then the King, sitting upon the sacred stone and surrounded by the earls and nobles at his feet, listened to a coronation sermon, after which *venerabilis canicei senex*—the scarlet-robed royal sennachie, declaimed the genealogy, after which the King proceeded from the stone to the High Altar, where, after a prayer by the Bishop, the crown was offered at the altar and redeemed. Unction followed, and after another long oration the ecclesiastical ceremony (which seems on this occasion to have followed the inauguration) terminated with the Benediction. Then followed the feudal homage: "*Omnes nobiles et Barones cum Regni libere tenentibus.*" The King then returned in solemn procession to the Great Hall, where the coronation feast took place.

Of Charles I's coronation, June 18, 1633, there is an account by Lord Lyon Balfour, and also the actual order of ceremony imposed at the instance of Archbishop Laud, which has been described as "an abridged excerpt from the English service, inexcusably murdered in translation," and therein only a few survivals from the Scottish

THE SCOTTISH CORONATION CEREMONY

ceremonial emerged, which are, however, useful in throwing light on earlier custom.

The last Scottish coronation was that of Charles II at Scone, January 1, 1651, when the ecclesiastical office was performed by the Rev. Robert Douglas, Moderator of the Assembly (preaching on the text, "And Jehoiada made a covenant between the Lord, the King, and the people"). The arrangements were modified by the narrow accommodation of the post-Reformation kirk of Scone, which had taken the place of the Abbey Church, and the ceremony itself, as the Sovereign was obliged therein to "renew the Covenants." Otherwise the ancient Scottish ritual was essentially followed, save that unction was omitted as "savouring somewhat of superstition," and bishops having been abolished, the King was crowned as well as enthroned by the Marquess of Argyll, who thus assumed the ancient functions of the Mormaers of Fife. Having received the sceptre, King Charles was warned to "beware of touching mischievous laws therewith," an allusion to the old Scottish form of Royal Assent to legislation, and with the final injunction to "remember that you are the only Covenanted King in the world," Charles II returned in solemn procession, the "Honours" (regalia) borne in state before him to the Palace of Scone.

Simple in form, but striking in its antiquity and depth of sentiment, the ancient Scottish coronation ritual emphasized the bonds of ancestry and clanship by which the sovereigns of the royal line of Scotland—traced back to its Pictish, Celtic, and Irish sources—were so intimately bound to the people of their ancient realm.



COMMEMORATIVE MEDALS

BY SIR ROBERT JOHNSON

THE medallic art is not native to Great Britain, and has always fallen on rather stony ground in these islands. It has never enjoyed the popularity, nor, with quite rare exceptions, attained to the perfection achieved in Italy, its country of origin, or on the Continent generally, and especially in France. Moreover, of such medals of merit as have been struck in Great Britain, the vast majority are by foreigners, or by "true-born Englishmen" of foreign extraction.

Commemorative and personal medals, in common with many other products of the Renaissance, came to England with the Tudors, and the first medal issued in commemoration of a coronation was that cast (*n.b.*, not struck) showing the half-length figure of King Edward VI, with the inscription, "By the Grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith and Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England and Ireland, Crowned 20 February 1546 at the age of Ten years," in Latin, Hebrew, and Greek. For political reasons the coronations of Mary and Elizabeth were very quiet affairs, and although there are some fine medals extant of both of these monarchs at a later period, no medals were specially struck for the ceremony.

Our series of struck medals, therefore, properly begins with James I, who is shown clad in armour, the head laureated, surrounded by the inscription in Latin, "Of Britain Caesar Augustus, Heir of Caesars D.D." The reverse shows a lion rampant, crowned, holding a beacon and a wheatsheaf with the legend, "Ecce Phaos populique Salus." The series thus inaugurated has been continued unbroken down to the present day. What is most interest-



Obverse and reverse of the medal commemorating the Coronation of King Edward VI



The official Coronation Medal designed by Mr. Percy Metcalfe. It bears the King's head on the obverse and the Queen's head on the reverse



The Coronation Medal of King James II and Queen Mary. RIGHT : The approved pattern for Coronation Medals issued by public bodies

COMMEMORATIVE MEDALS

ing about this medal, which was small in size and in silver, is that it was specially ordered to be scattered among the spectators at the coronation ceremony. The letters D.D. on the inscription are generally taken to emphasize the divine right—*i.e.*, King not merely by the Grace but by the Gift of God, they might equally represent “*Dono Dedit*,” signifying their distribution to the people. Queen Elizabeth had scattered coins, and doubtless this was the tradition of many earlier coronations. Her successor, as a canny Scot, would, of course, dislike throwing good money away, and, for reasons into which it would be interesting to explore, he must have found medals cheaper, even if made in silver. In any case, it appears that we have here the origin of the coronation medals. I cannot state positively that similar “scatterings” were made in every successive reign. I find, however, that in 1839 the Mint presented to the Treasury an account for £5,720 4s. 4d. for coronation medals, delivered for the use of the Queen, the Peers, Peeresses, Ambassadors, and members of the House of Commons and “to throw to the Public” on the day of coronation, while in the Coronation Service of Queen Victoria it is ordered that while the Peers present homage “the Treasurer of the Household throws among the People medals of gold and silver, as the Queens Princely Largess or Donative.”

The consequences followed that were only to be anticipated, for *The Times* account of the ceremony states that “unseemly disorder” was thereby caused in several parts of the Abbey. It is not surprising, therefore, that no such order should have appeared in the Coronation Service of Edward VII, nor, I am assured by the Earl Marshal, does it find a place in the Order of Service for the Coronation of their present Majesties. But the assumption that the practice initiated by James I continued unbroken down to Victoria seems, *prima facie*, to be a safe one.

What may be positively asserted is that, up to and including the coronation of Queen Victoria, medals commemorative of the coronation were supplied to the order of the monarch, to be given away as he or she might direct. The mint records show, however, that about the

same number of those medals, including specimens in bronze, were supplied to leading jewellers and silversmiths for sale to the public at fixed prices.

The first medal of this series struck officially in commemoration of a coronation, not supplied to his Majesty for "scattering," but offered to the general public on sale only, was that engraved at the Mint by De Saulles for King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra, and even this was charged for at little over bullion value only.

This, however, did not mean that the practice of largess or free distribution by the monarch was thereby discontinued. A new type of commemorative medal had sprung up, and by King Edward's coronation this, which was a medal for wear, now represented the free distribution. Actually the medal for wear is almost as ancient in origin as the medal for distribution, whether by "scattering" or otherwise. There are medals, for instance, struck to the order of Queen Elizabeth which were obviously intended for suspension by a chain from the neck, and medals of the same type were also awarded, particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to general officers and admirals and others who had been present on the occasion of famous victories, while general service medals for all ranks became the regular practice from Waterloo onwards.

It followed naturally from this that in 1887 a medal of this type, inscribed "In commemoration of the 50th year of the Reign of Queen Victoria 21 June 1887," and suspended by a ribbon, should have been struck to be given in gold to members of the Royal Family and Royal visitors attending the Jubilee celebrations, in silver to Ministers of State and other dignitaries, and in bronze to members of the Royal Household. Curiously enough, this medal was not, like all the Service medals, struck at the Royal Mint, but was commissioned privately by the Queen to Clemens Emptmeyer and struck at Vienna. Other medals with a rather different design were awarded to the London police. The precedent was followed for the Diamond Jubilee, and the distribution enlarged to include the St. John Ambulance Brigade and the Lord

Mayor and Mayors of the Kingdom. The new practice being thus established, the first coronation medal of this type was that awarded privately by King Edward VII for his and Queen Alexandra's coronation, again in gold, silver and bronze, and again with bronze medals of a somewhat different type for the police, &c. The second was that awarded for the coronation of King George V and Queen Mary on somewhat similar principles.

The present Coronation thus finds us with two different medals—the old pattern in two sizes in gold, silver, and bronze, which has regularly issued from the Mint since James I first ordered them for “scattering” and which are now supplied on sale to those who desire to purchase them, and the new with ribbon attachment and clasp now struck in silver only and awarded on settled principles to some 80,000 of his subjects throughout the Empire by the King himself. Since 1911 this has also issued from the Mint, a medal of a similar kind being struck for the Silver Jubilee, 1935. That there is room for old as well as new is evident from the following record of sales : George V Coronation, gold 944, silver 27,358, bronze 6,253 ; George V Silver Jubilee, gold 347, silver 149,292 ; and, indeed, it would be unfortunate if the old series were ever discontinued !

A full description of the whole series from James I to the present day is not possible within the allotted span of this article, though illustrations of some of them are given. The limitation is the less unfortunate since the ground is already fully covered by my friend Sir George Hill in the learned and admirably illustrated article which he has contributed on coronation medals generally to a recent number of *Apollo*. Suffice it therefore to say that, as will be seen from the illustrations, the old series is continued on this occasion by a medal which shows on the one side the effigy of his Majesty George VI and on the other that of Queen Elizabeth. This general design might be said to be now established for this type of medal (the medal awarded by the King shows the jugate heads of their Majesties), and follows closely those issued to commemorate the coronations of George V, Edward VII, and William IV.

As will be seen the new medals have only simple inscriptions giving the date of the ceremony. The earlier inscriptions were more flamboyant : " *Proprio Jam Jure Animo Paterno* " (George IV), " *Vicem Gerit Illa Tonantis* " (Queen Anne), " *Ne Totus Absumatur* " (William and Mary), " *Everso Missus Succurrere Seclo* " (Charles II). Of these the inscription on the medal for Charles I, " *Donec Pax Reddita Terris*," alone seems appropriate to our troubled times.

The coronation medal of Edward VI was, as we have seen, cast, which was the usual method of making medals in early times, but with the introduction of stamping machines, which in England occurred during the reign of Charles II, medals were usually struck. Improvements in machinery have been progressive to the present time. With progress, and the introduction of the highly efficient reducing machine, the art of cutting designs direct into the steel to the size of the medal has declined, and the practice followed nowadays is for a sculptor to produce a plaster model some six or eight times the size of the model required. From a metal electrotype taken from this plaster a reduction in steel is cut on the machine and the steel punch so obtained forms the initial master tool from which dies are made.

It is certainly regrettable that the beautiful art of the engraver in steel should have suffered eclipse. On the other hand, the modern machine is uncannily efficient and mass production largely compels its use. Is it not, then, for the medallic artist of to-day to accommodate himself to the use of this new tool—the reducing machine—and produce medals which, if not of the individual quality of a Pisanello, are at least examples of modern art which need not be ashamed of any comparison? The pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war has become a problem in mechanics, and it seems that art—so far as mass production is concerned—will have to submit to a like process.

In conclusion, it is to be noted that with the exceptions only of Thomas Simon (Charles II) and George Bower (James II and Mary) all the authors of our coronation

COMMEMORATIVE MEDALS

medals, Briot (Charles I), Roettier (William III and Mary), Croker (Queen Anne, George I and II), Natter and Kuchler (George III), Pistrucci (George IV and Victoria), William Wyon (William IV), De Saulles (Edward VII), down to Mackennal (George V), were either foreign or of foreign extraction. (Croker was a Saxon, and Wyon's family came over from Hanover with George I.)

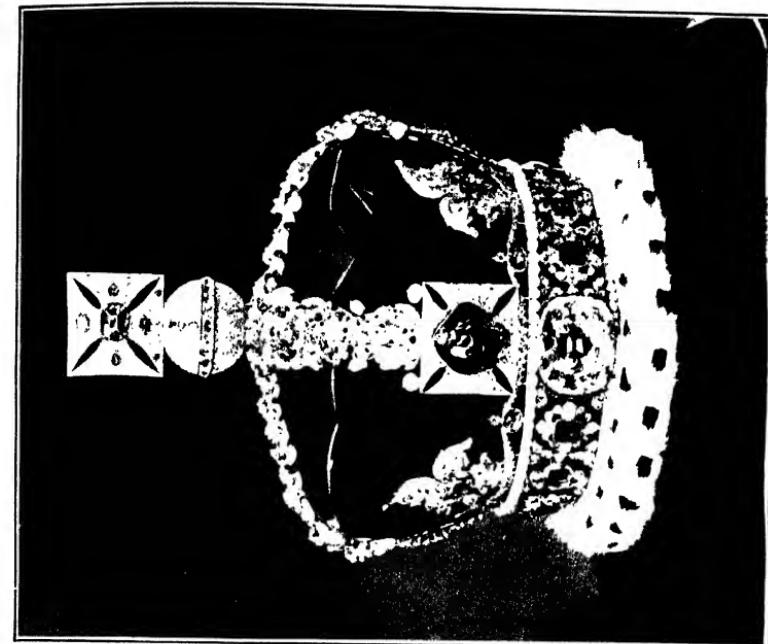
The author of both the coronation medals on this occasion, Mr. Percy Metcalfe, might therefore, by tradition, have well been a "Prussian—or an Italian." Actually he is an Englishman of at least a thousand years' standing—though no doubt, since he is a Yorkshireman, his ancestors may have come over with the Danes. However, he has taken the reducing machine into account and, for better or worse, his style is his own.



THE REGALIA

BY LAWRENCE E. TANNER, M.V.O., F.S.A.,
KEEPER OF THE MUNIMENTS, WESTMINSTER ABBEY

ON June 3, 1643, the House of Commons resolved “that the Locks of the Doors where the Regalia are kept, in Westminster Abbey, shall be opened, notwithstanding any former Order made, and Search made there; and an Inventory taken of what Things are . . . ; and presented to the House; and new Locks set upon the Doors, and nothing removed till the House take further Order. . . .” The Order was duly carried out and the Crowns, the Ampulla, and some other objects were removed to the Tower of London, although the robes traditionally supposed to be those of Edward the Confessor were suffered for the time to remain. Some part of the spoil must, however, have been sold, for among the Abbey muniments is a bill dated August, 1646, for glazing various windows in the church, and this bears an endorsement stating that the total was paid out of the “Regalia Money.” In 1649, after the fall of the Monarchy, a full inventory was taken of the regalia then remaining both at the Tower and at Westminster. This inventory, which is very detailed and gives the weight and value of the various objects, has often been printed. Against the entries of the Crowns is the contemporary note: “The foremencioned Crownes since ye Inventorye was Taken are accordinge to order of Parl^t totallie broken and defaced.” What exactly happened to the other objects is unknown, but it is presumed that they met the same fate. Some of the jewels and smaller objects were certainly sold, for the famous ruby which belonged to the Black Prince reappeared at the Restoration and is now in the Imperial Crown, while the Spoon used for the anointing is not the one made for the Coronation of



THE IMPERIAL STATE CROWN



ST. EDWARD'S CROWN

THE REGALIA

Charles II but dates from the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century.

It has been suggested that the Ampulla, or golden eagle, which holds the sacred oil, is part of the ancient regalia and that it also somehow escaped destruction. It may not be without interest, therefore, to go a little more fully into its history. Among the muniments of Westminster Abbey is an indenture (hitherto unpublished), dated July 7, 1483, which has Richard III's sign manual at the top. This indenture states that the King by the hands of the Bishops of St. Asaph and St. Davids has delivered to the Abbot of Westminster "an Egle of gold garnyshed with perles and precious stones in which is closed the precious Relique called the Ampulle which the forsaide Abbott and Convent graunte and promyt by this present endenture to deliver ageyne to the said Kyngs highnesse whensoever it shall please hym to ask it. And the same most excellent cristен prynce and kyng ordeyneth and willeth that the same precious relique to abide (*sic*) and remayne after his decesse within the forsaide monastery among the Regalies now lying in the said monastery for evermore." It duly appears as "an Eagle of golde called the Ampull" in an inventory of the regalia at the Abbey taken in 1606 with the added note "one of the fower Joynts is broken." In the 1649 inventory it is described as "a dove of gould sett with stones and pearle poz. 8 Ounces $\frac{1}{2}$ in a box sett with studds of silver gilt," and was valued at £26. What subsequently happened to it we do not know, but Sandford, writing in 1687, definitely states that it escaped destruction in 1649. The eagle, which is now amongst the regalia at the Tower, is made of gold. It is 9in. in height and stands on a small pedestal with its wings outstretched. It weighs about 10oz. and the oil is poured out through the beak. It cannot be denied that this eagle has little except, perhaps, the pedestal to suggest a seventeenth-century origin, and that the head is attached to the body by a very primitive type of screw. On the other hand, among the things to be provided for the Coronation of Charles II was "an Ampull for the Oyle," and this, with the other regalia, is described as "newly made." Nor is this all, for in a

further list dated 1684-5 of "Regalias provided for His late Majesty's coronation" (Charles II) is the entry: "One Ampulla or Eglet poiz. 21oz. 8dwt. For gold and workmanship £102. 5. 0." It is difficult to reconcile this conflicting evidence, and it is perhaps impossible to settle the question of date without a minute and expert examination of the eagle itself.

With the possible exception, then, of the ampulla, and with the exception of the spoon, the whole of the present regalia was made either for the Coronation of Charles II or for subsequent Coronations, although the old traditional names were retained for the newly made objects.

It will be convenient, perhaps, to describe them in the order in which they are used in the Coronation Service.

On the day before the Coronation the regalia is brought from the Tower and delivered into the care of the Dean of Westminster. It is placed in the Jerusalem Chamber and is guarded throughout the night by the Yeomen Warders of the Tower and others. On the following morning it is taken in procession by the Dean and Chapter, accompanied by the King's Scholars of Westminster School and by the Choirs of Westminster Abbey and the Chapel Royal, from the Jerusalem Chamber to the Confessor's Chapel, where the sacred oil is reconsecrated if necessary and the Imperial Crown is laid on the altar. The rest of the regalia is then taken to the west end of the Abbey, where it is subsequently handed to those who are appointed to carry it in the King and Queen's procession.

On the entry of the King it was formerly the custom to hand to him St. Edward's staff, which he used somewhat like a Bishop's crozier to walk with in the procession. It is now carried with the rest of the regalia. This staff is of gold and nearly 5ft. long, and is surmounted by a mound and cross. It is tipped with a pike of steel four inches and a quarter long. It is a curious fact that in the Bayeux Needlework Edward the Confessor is represented holding a long pointed staff which closely resembles the staff in the regalia. It is quite possible that the present

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staff, therefore, preserves the tradition of the form of the original staff.

When the anointing is reached in the Coronation Service the Dean of Westminster brings the ampulla from the altar and pours from it some of the holy oil into the spoon. The ampulla has already been described, but the spoon, as the oldest object used in the Coronation Service, merits a fuller description. It dates, as has been said, from the twelfth or early thirteenth century, and is 10 inches long. It is of silver gilt, and the stem is ornamented with champlevé work and has four pearls set in it. The bowl, which has an engraved leaf pattern on it, has a ridge down the middle, and is possibly of later date than the stem. It is possible, as the late Sir William St. John Hope suggested, that the spoon was made for the coronation of Henry III in 1216 in order to replace an earlier spoon lost by King John in crossing the Wash.

Immediately after the anointing the Dean of Westminster places upon the King the Colobium Sindonis, a sleeveless linen garment resembling the ecclesiastical alb. Over this is then placed the Supertunica, or close pall of cloth of gold. This is a long garment reaching to the ankles and is made of cloth of gold. It has a girdle of the same material.

The spurs are next delivered to the Lord Great Chamberlain, who touches the King's heels with them. The spurs were made for the Coronation of Charles II. They are of solid gold with "pricks" and have straps of crimson velvet.

The King is then girded with the sword. The sword used for this purpose has a gold scabbard covered with the emblems of the United Kingdom worked in rubies, diamonds, and emeralds. It was made for the coronation of George IV. Although this sword has been used since that coronation, the rubric for this part of the service, which appears to date from the coronation of Queen Anne, by a curious oversight continues to describe the sword as being "in a scabbard of purple velvet." The point seems to be that this is not a State sword but the King's own sword, for immediately after he has been

girded he himself ungirds the sword and carries it to the altar, where he offers it for the protection of the Church of God and the defence of widows and orphans. The sword is subsequently redeemed for the traditional price of 100s., and it is carried naked before the Sovereign for the rest of the service.

There are four other swords carried at the ceremony. Of these the most important is the great two-handed sword of state, with its crimson velvet scabbard enriched with gilded metal plates bearing various Royal badges, such as the portcullis and the Tudor rose. The quillion or cross of the handle is formed by a lion on one side and a unicorn on the other. This is the sword which is borne in front of the Sovereign at the state openings of Parliament. The three other swords have each a symbolic meaning. Curtana, the short or pointless sword, signifies mercy. The second sword signifies justice to the spirituality, and the third sword justice to the temporality. They have crimson velvet scabbards ornamented with gold braid. Curtana and one of these swords have the wolf mark of the sword factories of Passau on the blade. The third sword has a mark of five lozenges and the word Frara, probably a forgery for Ferrara, on the blade. Three swords have been carried in the procession since the coronation of Richard I, and their symbolic meaning is at least as old as the coronation of Richard III.

As soon as the King's sword has been redeemed from the altar, the Groom of the Robes delivers the Armill and the Robe Royal to the Dean of Westminster, who places them upon the King. The Armill (although the word really means a bracelet) is now simply a stole, and it is usually embroidered with various emblems. The Robe Royal or Pallium is described in the rubric in the *Liber Regalis* as "woven throughout with golden eagles," the emblems of imperial dominion. It was originally square in shape, thus differing from a cope, which is semicircular, and the four corners symbolized the four parts of the world subject to Divine power. The shape of the robe has been somewhat altered from medieval times, but it is still made of cloth of gold and is embroidered with eagles, together with other emblems of the British Empire.



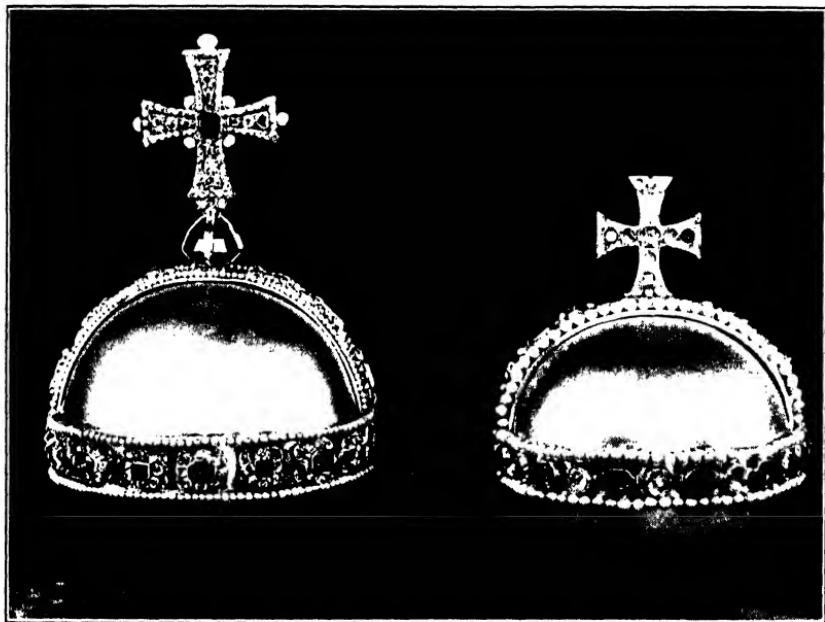
LEFT : The Sword of State
CENTRE : The Royal Sceptre with the Cross. RIGHT : The Jewelled State Sword

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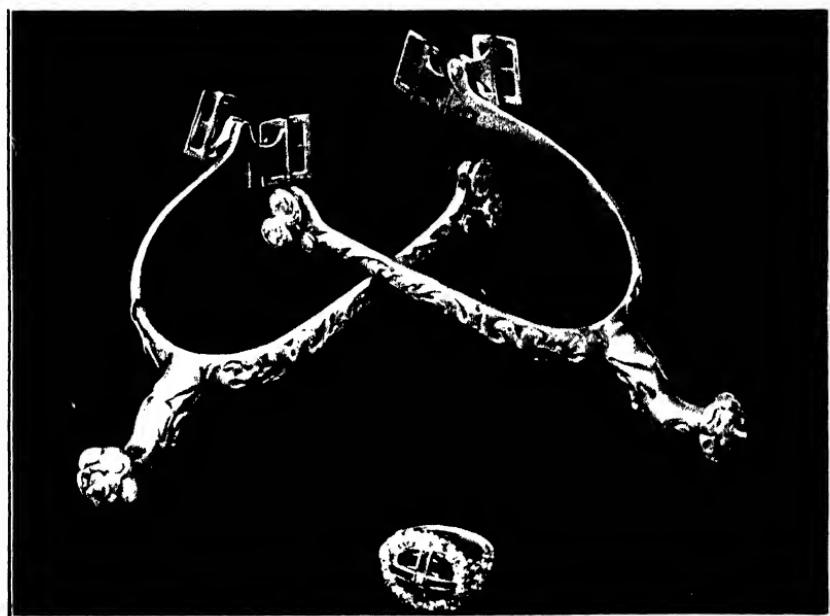
After the King has been invested with the Royal robes the Royal insignia is delivered into his hands, beginning with the orb. The orb, which symbolizes independent sovereignty under the cross and is the only Royal emblem which finds no parallel to the insignia delivered to a Bishop at his consecration, has a somewhat curious history. In the course of centuries it has altered considerably in appearance. Originally it had much the same significance as the sceptre with the cross, and, until Tudor times, the cross rising from the mound or globe had a long sceptre-like stem. It appears, for instance, in this form in the great picture of Richard II, which hangs by the High Altar in the Abbey, and on many of the medieval great seals. The orb is delivered to the King by the Archbishop, and is then replaced on the altar, so that he may have his two hands free to receive the sceptres. But subsequently he carries it in his left hand as he leaves the Abbey Church. It is a gold globe 6in. in diameter, encircled by a band of gold edged with pearls and set with clusters of gems. From this band rises an arch of gold, edged and decorated in the same manner, supporting a large amethyst on which is set an exceptionally beautiful cross enriched with diamonds. In the centre of this cross there is on one side an emerald, and on the other a sapphire. It was made for the coronation of Charles II.

The ring is placed on the fourth finger of the King's right hand, and is described in the investiture prayer as "the ensign of kingly dignity and of defence of the Catholic Faith." The form of the ring has varied at different times. Among the muniments of Westminster Abbey is a grant from Richard II to the shrine of Edward the Confessor of a ring of gold *cum quodam lapide precioso vocato Ruby non modici valoris in eodem anulo inserto*, which was to be worn by the King during his lifetime, except when abroad, but after his death was to be used as a coronation ring by his successors. The ring used by William IV, Edward VII, George V, and George VI consists of a sapphire surrounded by diamonds and set with a cross of five rubies.

The Royal sceptre, or sceptre with the cross, which is placed in the King's right hand, is about 3ft. long. It is



THE KING'S ORB AND (Right) THE QUEEN'S ORB



ST. GEORGE'S SPURS AND THE CORONATION RING

a gold rod with a richly jewelled handle, and is surmounted by a jewelled cross-patée resting on an amethyst cut in the shape of an orb and mounted with jewelled fillets. Between this amethyst and the top of the stem was inserted in 1911 the great diamond known as the "Star of Africa." This diamond is so set that it can be removed if desired and worn as a pendant. This sceptre was made for the coronation of Charles II by Sir Robert Vyner. It is the sceptre which the King carries in his hand when he leaves the Abbey at the conclusion of the service.

The sceptre with the dove was also made for the coronation of Charles II, but a sceptre in this form can be traced back to the coronation of Richard II, and even before. The sceptre signifies equity and mercy. It is of gold 3ft. 7in. in length, and terminates in a mound and cross, on which is perched a white enamelled dove with outstretched wings. The handle of the sceptre is enriched with jewels, as is also the knob at the bottom. This sceptre is placed in the King's left hand.

The King having now been invested with the Royal robes and the Royal insignia, the Dean of Westminster, by virtue of an ancient privilege, brings "St. Edward's Crown" from the altar and the Archbishop, taking it from him, places it reverently upon the King's head. This is the crown which, preserving the ancient name, was made by Sir Robert Vyner for the coronation of Charles II, and with it monarchs from the time of Charles II have usually been crowned. It consists of a gold circlet set with jewels, and from this circlet rise four crosses-patée and four fleurs-de-lis placed alternately and also set with gems. From each of the crosses rises an enriched arch of gold ; the arches cross each other and are depressed at the point of intersection. At this point of intersection is a globe of gold surmounted by a cross-patée of gold enriched with diamonds and gems. The arms of this cross and the top are decorated with large pearls. Within the crown it has become customary, although it is not historically correct, to place the cap of estate of crimson velvet turned up with miniver. This crown is of considerable weight, and at the coronation of King George V it was exchanged within a minute or two for the Imperial

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Crown of State, which the King wore for the rest of the service. King George VI, however, wore it for over half-an-hour.

The Imperial crown is far more elaborate than St. Edward's crown and was made for the coronation of Queen Victoria. It consists of a circlet of silver openwork, bordered with pearls and set with clusters of emeralds, sapphires, and diamonds. Above this circlet are four fleurs-de-lis and four crosses-patée, as in St. Edward's crown, but entirely set with diamonds and large gems. The arches of the crown are worked into a design of oak leaves and acorns, formed of diamonds, with drop pearls for acorns. The mound which surmounts this is entirely covered with diamonds. From the centre of this mound rises a cross-patée, also formed of diamonds, with a large sapphire in the centre of the cross. The interest of this crown lies, however, not so much in its splendour as in some of the individual gems which form a part of it. Of these the most famous is the great spinel ruby of irregular shape which belonged to the Black Prince and is said to have been given to him by Pedro the Cruel, King of Castille from 1353 to 1364. This is the "fair ruby great like a rocket-ball" which Queen Elizabeth showed to the Ambassador of Mary Queen of Scots. It is now set in the front of the crown in the centre of one of the crosses-patée. It occupied a similar place in one of the crowns made for Charles II. This crown, dismantled of its gems, belongs to Lord Amherst of Hackney, and is on loan at the London Museum.

Immediately below the Black Prince's ruby and set in the circlet is the second largest portion of the "Star of Africa" diamond. This was set in the crown in 1911 and displaced the large oval sapphire which was bequeathed to George III by Henry, Cardinal York, styled after the death of Prince Charles Edward "Henry IX of England" ("Non voluntate hominum sed Dei gratia," as he put on the medal which he caused to be struck for his adherents). This sapphire, which had been in Charles II's crown, was one of the jewels which James II took with him to France. It is now set at the back of the Imperial crown. There

are other gems in the crown of more doubtful authenticity. In the centre of the cross-patée at the top of the crown is a sapphire which is supposed to have come from the ring of Edward the Confessor. This ring was given by the Confessor to a beggar, who subsequently revealed himself as St. John and returned the ring to the King through the agency of a pilgrim in the Holy Land. It was one of the treasures of the Confessor's Shrine up to the Reformation. What happened to it afterwards is unknown, but there is nothing but a very shadowy tradition to identify the sapphire from the Confessor's ring with that which now adorns the crown. There is nothing, also, but an equally doubtful tradition to identify four large pearls, which are set at the intersection of the arches of the crown, as having been the earrings of Queen Elizabeth.

The Imperial crown is worn by the Sovereign throughout the last part of the Coronation Service and during his return to the Palace after the ceremony. It is used at the state openings of Parliament and it rested on the coffins of King Edward VII and King George V.

After the King has been anointed, invested, and crowned he is enthroned and receives the homage of the Archbishops, Bishops, Princes, and Peers. The coronation of the Queen then follows and takes place at a faldstool between the altar and the Coronation Chair. The Queen's coronation differs from that of the King inasmuch as she receives the sceptres after she has been anointed and crowned.

Immediately after the Queen has been anointed the Archbishop receives from the Keeper of the Jewel House the Queen's Ring and puts it upon the fourth finger of her right hand. The Queen's Ring, "the seal of a sincere faith" as the prayer describes it, was worn by Queen Adelaide, Queen Alexandra and Queen Mary. It is a ruby surrounded by brilliants and has smaller rubies set round the outside of the ring.

The Queen's crown has been specially made for the Coronation and differs slightly from that made for Queen Mary in 1911. The foundation of the crown is a circlet,

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originally made for Queen Victoria and worn on various occasions both by Queen Alexandra and Queen Mary. It consists of four crosses-patée and four fleurs-de-lis. These support four arches surmounted by the usual mound and cross-patée. The crown is entirely mounted in platinum and contains the Koh-i-Noor diamond in front and also a diamond from the Lahore Treasury which was given to Queen Victoria by the East India Company in 1851.

The sceptres resemble those delivered to the King, but they are both rather smaller. The Queen's sceptre with the cross, which is placed in her right hand, was made for Mary of Modena, the Queen Consort of James II. It is of gold ornamented with diamonds and is 2ft. 10in. in length. At the top of the sceptre is a double fleur-de-lis enriched with diamonds, and on this rests the mound of gold and cross both also enriched with diamonds.

The ivory rod with the dove, which is placed in the Queen's left hand, was also made for the coronation of Mary of Modena. It is 3ft. 1½in. in length and is made of three pieces of ivory, as its name implies, joined by bosses of chased gold. In contrast to the King's sceptre, on which the dove has its wings outspread, the Queen's ivory rod has a white enamelled dove with closed wings perched on a mound decorated with champlevé enamel emblems in colours—thistles, roses, fleurs-de-lis.

There is also preserved at the Tower the Queen's sceptre with the dove, which was made for the coronation of Queen Mary II. It corresponds in every way with the King's sceptre with the dove, except that it is a little smaller. It has a curious history. After the coronation of William and Mary it was not required—inasmuch as William and Mary were joint Sovereigns—at subsequent coronations. It was therefore discarded and eventually slipped down behind a shelf in the Jewel House, where it was accidentally discovered in 1814.

There are eight maces preserved at the Tower which are carried by the serjeants-at-arms at coronations. Two of these date from the reign of Charles II, two from that of James II, three from that of William and Mary, and one

from that of Queen Anne. The two finest, which bear the cipher of Charles II, were probably made by Sir Robert Vyner. They are of silver gilt and measure about 4ft. in length.

Besides the regalia used at the Coronation of King George VI there are other crowns and objects preserved at the Tower and elsewhere which have been used at former Coronations and may be briefly described.

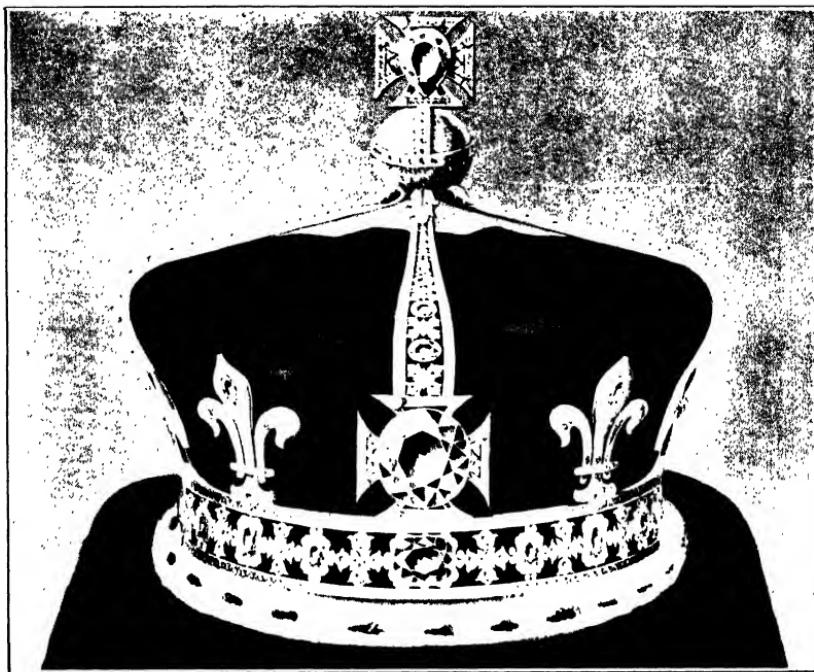
The Queen Consort's crown, which was made for Mary of Modena, and appears to have been subsequently remade for Mary II, resembles St. Edward's Crown although it is rather smaller in size. It has, however, no coloured gems and is ornamented only with diamonds and pearls. It is an arched crown like St. Edward's and within it is a crimson velvet cap turned up with miniver.

More remarkable in some ways is the jewelled cap or circlet which Mary of Modena wore from Westminster Hall to the Abbey on the day of her coronation. It corresponds to the Cap of State which is still worn by the King when he enters the Abbey Church. The cap worn by Mary of Modena consists of a broad band of gold, along the upper edge of which is a row of large pearls. In front this edging rises to a point and above this is one large diamond. The whole of the gold band is covered by a floral spray consisting of raised gold work and diamonds and by diamond rosettes. The cap itself is tipped with ermine and is of crimson velvet.

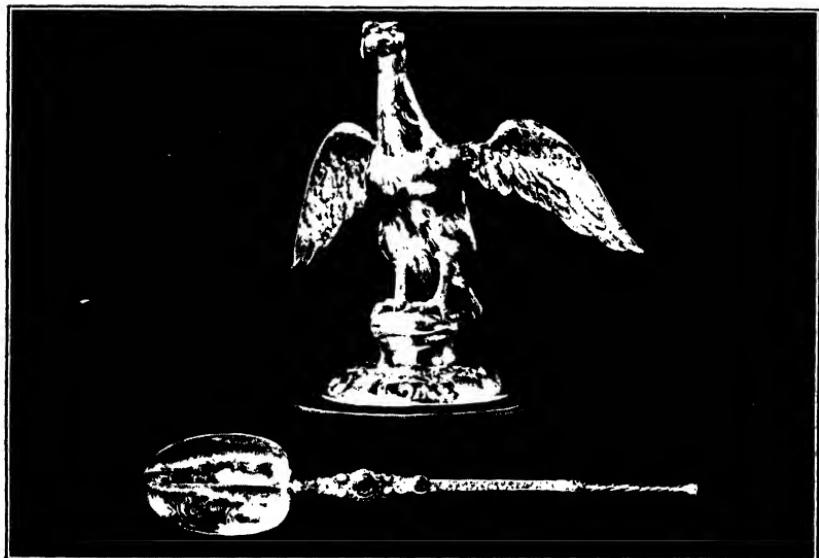
The crown with which Queen Alexandra was crowned is now in the London Museum. The jewels have been removed from it and it is now set with pastes. It is similar in its main outlines to that subsequently made for Queen Mary.

The Imperial Crown of India is not used at the Coronation ceremony in the Abbey. It was made for the Coronation Durbar in Delhi in 1912. It resembles in its form the crowns made for Queen Alexandra and Queen Mary and is composed of diamonds, emeralds, and rubies. It has a purple velvet cap turned up with miniver.

The Prince of Wales's Crown is also at the Tower. It is a plain gold crown of the usual type with imitation



DESIGN FOR THE CROWN MADE FOR THE CORONATION OF
QUEEN ELIZABETH



THE AMPULLA AND THE CORONATION SPOON

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gem clusters and pearls. It has an arch on which rests the mound and cross, and a crimson velvet cap turned up with ermine.

The Queen's orb was made for Queen Mary II. It is slightly smaller than that made for her husband, William III. It has a band round the centre edged with pearls and within the band are single rubies, sapphires, and emeralds. An arch similarly ornamented rises from the band and upon this is set a cross-patée set with rubies, sapphires, and diamonds. It has not been used since the Coronation of William and Mary.

The bracelets, which are also preserved at the Tower, have dropped entirely out of use. They were made for the coronation of Charles II as part of the traditional regalia, but they do not appear to have been used. They are of solid gold about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in width and are lined with crimson velvet. They have the emblems of the three kingdoms and fleur-de-lis in champlevé enamel.

Lastly may be mentioned the coronation ring of King Charles I. This was bequeathed to George III by the Cardinal York. The ring, which is so made that it can fit fingers of different sizes, is set with a pale ruby with a red cross behind it and is enclosed within a circle of small diamonds.

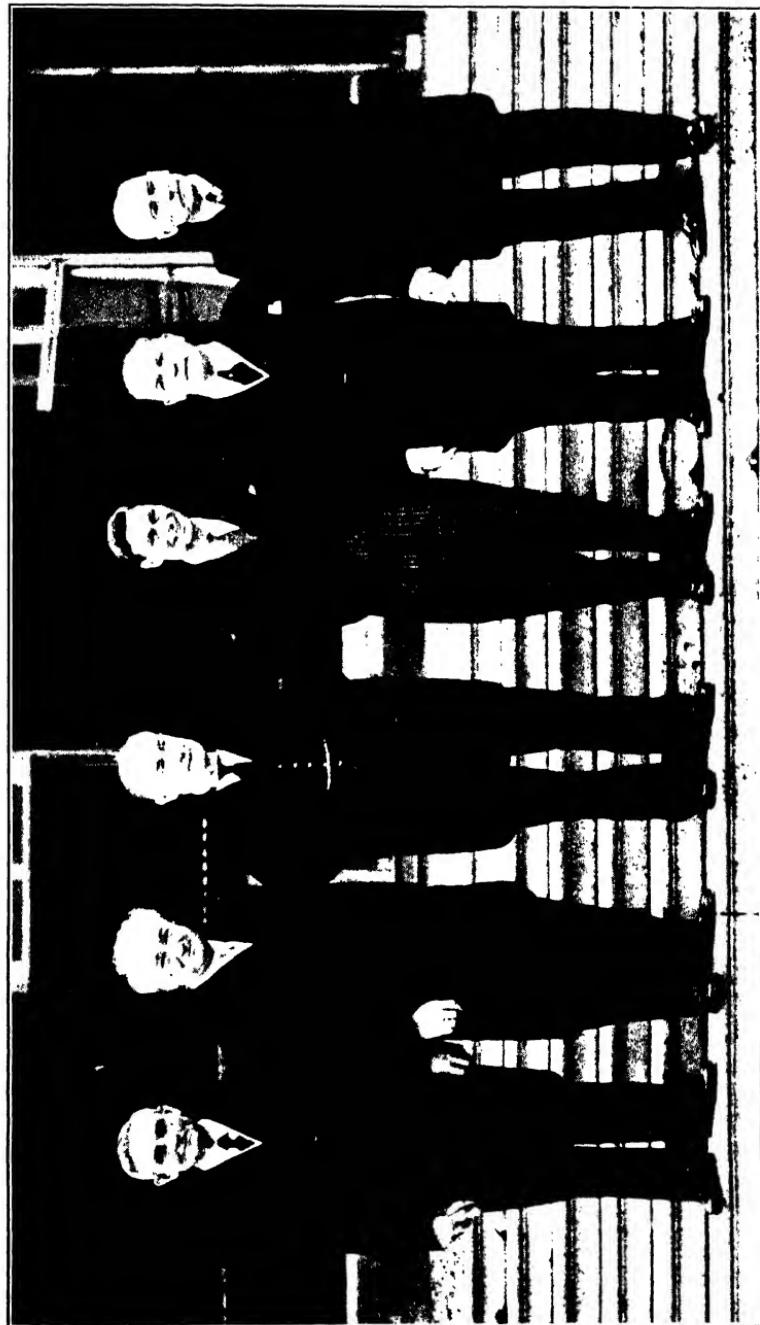


THE KING AND THE DOMINIONS

BY K. C. WHEARE

IN the Royal Style and Titles George VI is declared by law to be not only King of Great Britain but also King of Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the seas and Emperor of India. The Coronation of the Sovereign would be at any time an event of considerable significance for the peoples of these territories outside Great Britain which go to make up the British Commonwealth and Empire, no less than for the people of Great Britain itself. But the Coronation of King George VI possessed for the people of the Empire a significance which had attached to no previous coronation. Since the coronation of George V in 1911 there has occurred a modification and in some cases a transformation in the relations of different parts of the Empire to each other and to Great Britain, and this transformation has received its most striking expression in the emergence of the Monarchy as the most important single institution of common interest to all the peoples of the Empire.

Little indication of this change in the position of the King is found in His Majesty's Royal Style and Titles. When George V was crowned in 1911 his Title was that of King "of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas" and Emperor of India. A slight change only has been made in the Title since that date. In 1927, as a result of agreement at the Imperial Conference in the previous year, the political expression "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland" was replaced by the geographical expressions "Great Britain, Ireland" in order to bring the Title into accord with the altered state of affairs arising from the establishment of the Irish Free State as a "Dominion." But it is interesting to notice that there is



THE KING AND HIS PRIME MINISTERS AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

Reading from the left : Mr. M. J. Savage (New Zealand) , Mr. J. A. Lyons Australia , Mr. Stanley Baldwin Great Britain , the King, Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King (Canada) , and General Hertzog Union of South Africa

no explicit reference to the Irish Free State in the Title, nor does the expression "the British Dominions beyond the Seas" refer exclusively, as is sometimes thought, to those members of the British Commonwealth of Nations which are defined by law in section one of the Statute of Westminster to be "Dominions"—that is to say, the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State, and Newfoundland. It is clear that "the British Dominions beyond the Seas" in the Royal Style and Titles means all those territorial communities, other than Great Britain, Ireland, and India, which owe allegiance to His Majesty. The expression therefore includes the Dominions (except the Irish Free State) as they are defined by the Statute of Westminster, but it does not exclude all other Possessions of the King. There is, therefore, a slight inconsistency in the use of the word "Dominions" in the Title as proclaimed under the Royal and Parliamentary Titles Act, 1927, and the use of the word in the Statute of Westminster and, what is more important, in common, every-day speech.

It is in respect of the Dominions in this latter sense that a complete transformation has occurred since the coronation of 1911, and it is pre-eminently for them that the Coronation of George VI had a unique significance. For at the Imperial Conference of 1926 it was declared that the King was the one essential constitutional link between Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the Irish Free State, Newfoundland, and Great Britain. These autonomous communities were "united by a common allegiance to the Crown," and "the Crown" meant not, as often in constitutional law, His Majesty's Government, but His Majesty. In 1911 there was but one Government in the Empire which could be described in international and in Imperial law as "His Majesty's Government," and that was the Government of the United Kingdom. To-day each of the Governments of the Dominions is His Majesty's Government for that Dominion, and the Government of the United Kingdom, from being "His Majesty's Government" without qualification, has become now "His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom."

Each of these Governments is equal in status in the sense that no one of them is constitutionally subordinated to the control of another.

Nor is His Majesty's position in respect of each of his Dominion Governments merely titular. The Governor-General of a Dominion represents His Majesty only and no longer, as in 1911, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom also. It has been laid down that this Governor-General, who is appointed by His Majesty upon the sole and exclusive advice of the Government of the Dominion concerned, holds "in all essential respects the same position in relation to the administration of public affairs in the Dominion as is held by His Majesty the King in Great Britain." It follows, therefore, that His Majesty in his relations with his Ministers in the United Kingdom establishes the model of constitutional conduct which must be followed by a Governor-General in each Dominion. In a very important way the King's conception of his constitutional status and duties affects the maintenance and growth of the system of Cabinet Government practised in the Dominions.

In no field of British Commonwealth relations is the new relationship of the King to his Dominion Governments more strikingly illustrated than in the field of foreign affairs, and here the contrast with 1911 is most marked. The coronation of George V was followed by an Imperial Conference, and the Coronation of George VI is likewise being followed by an Imperial Conference. But whereas at the Conference of 1911 the Dominions were informed for the first time by the Foreign Secretary of the inner problems and principles of the Empire's foreign policy, and then only as a result of a protest by the Australian Prime Minister and with manifest reluctance on the part of Mr. Asquith, who declared that the authority of the United Kingdom Government in such grave matters could not be shared, at the Conference of 1937 the Dominions and the United Kingdom meet on an equal footing, each entitled to cooperate in the conduct of foreign relations. In law the King remains the sole person with authority to represent any part of the Empire in intercourse with a foreign State and to commit that part of the Empire to any

international obligation. Constitutionally His Majesty exercises that legal power on behalf of each Dominion in such a way that no Dominion may be committed to active obligations except with its own express consent. Treaties are negotiated and signed on behalf of the Dominions by plenipotentiaries appointed by the King upon the advice of the Dominions concerned, and they are ratified by His Majesty upon the same advice.

Finally, the equality of status between Great Britain and the Dominions, combined with the emergence of the King as the sole constitutional link between them, has meant that the rules which establish and regulate the institution of Monarchy in the Empire are a matter of common and equal concern. It was declared, therefore, in the preamble to the Statute of Westminster in 1931 that "any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom." This rule, it should be emphasized, is not binding in strict law. It is no more than a constitutional convention. But in pursuance of this declaration, as is well known, the accession of King George VI received the assent of all the Dominions without exception. The legal forms through which this assent was declared differed in almost every case, but none the less, from the constitutional point of view, for the first time in history a British King has been crowned whose accession has received the collective assent of all the Dominions.

Although the peculiar position of the Dominions in relation to the King has not yet received explicit statement in the Royal Style and Titles, it has been recognized in the alterations which have been made in the form of His Majesty's Coronation Oath, and which have already been described in Professor Trevelyan's article. But even here it is interesting to notice that no direct reference is made to the new political entities, "the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland" and "the Irish Free State." Instead, as in the Title, the geographical expressions "Great Britain" and "Ireland" are preferred, and reference to the political partition of Ireland is avoided. Apart from this, the Dominions are severally mentioned

(Newfoundland being omitted because it surrendered Dominion status in 1933) and are expressly distinguished from His Majesty's " Possessions and the other Territories to any of them belonging or pertaining."

The Imperial Conference which succeeds the Coronation of 1937 exhibits another important change from the Conference of 1911. The Empire of India, which had been expressly excluded from membership of the Conference when its composition was decided in 1907, was, ten years later, at the Imperial War Conference, admitted to membership and declared to be entitled, along with the Dominions, to an adequate voice in the conduct of Imperial foreign policy. In 1937 India takes its place as a full and established member of the Imperial Conference. In the period since 1911 the decision has definitely been taken to confer in the future upon India equality of status with the Dominions and with Great Britain. In 1919 and in 1935 important stages occurred in this advance towards " the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral portion of the British Empire." As each of these steps has been taken the relation between the Governments, Central and Provincial, in India and the King-Emperor has undergone an important change. Responsible self-government means in India, as it has meant in the Dominions, that the Governor-General or the Governor, in so far as the administration of public affairs is confided to Indian responsible Ministers, acts within that sphere of self-government as the representative of His Majesty and no longer as the representative of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom also. As a result of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1919 the Governors of Indian Provinces became, in respect of the sphere of government transferred to Indian Ministers, the representatives of His Majesty, and by the recent reforms embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, the Governors became, in respect of the whole sphere of Provincial affairs, representatives of His Majesty. It is true that there were and are safeguards ; that in certain emergencies and in special circumstances the Governor is empowered to act in opposition to the advice of his



THE KING AND QUEEN IN AUSTRALIA
Opening of the first Federal Parliament to sit in the Parliament House at Canberra



A VISIT TO FIJI
The King receiving a "tabua," a symbol of homage and affection

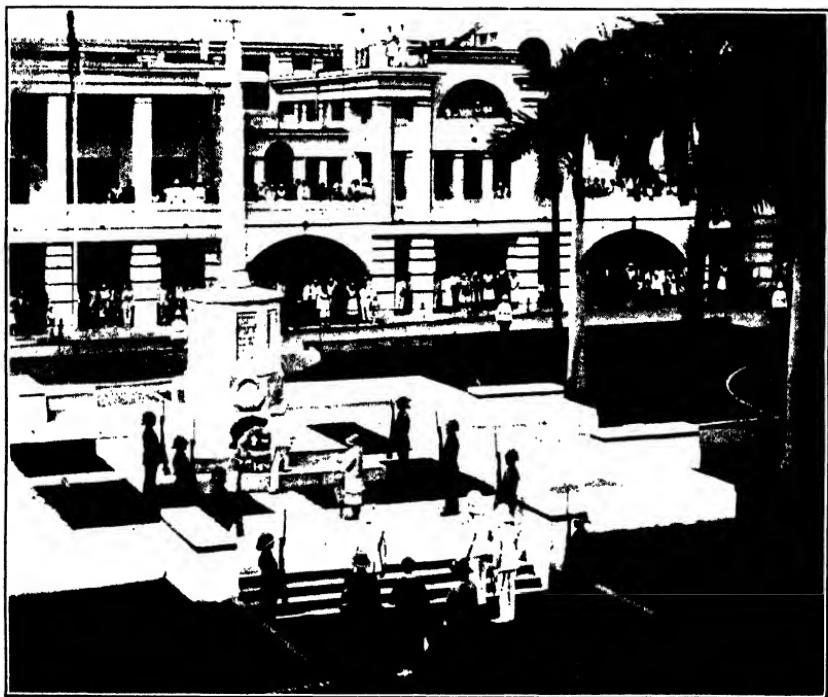
Ministers and not in accordance, therefore, with the constitutional rules which His Majesty recognizes and adopts in his relations with his Ministers in the United Kingdom. But it is clear that what is envisaged in the Indian Provinces and what has already been achieved there, within a recognized sphere of government, is a system, similar to that in the Dominions, of which His Majesty's own conception of the powers and duties of a constitutional monarch forms an integral part.

It is well known that the Central Government of India still lacks certain of the essentials of equality of status with the nations of the British Commonwealth. But here, again, there is envisaged in the Act of 1935 a change in the position of the Viceroy and Governor-General such that, within an important and prescribed sphere of government, he too will occupy the position of a constitutional monarch upon the model of the King-Emperor. Meanwhile, India in 1919 signed the Treaty of Versailles separately, as did the Dominions, and she became an original member with them of the League of Nations and of the International Labour Organization. As each advance towards self-government has been made India has come nearer to the position in which for her, as for the Dominions, the one fundamental constitutional link which binds her to the rest of the Empire is a common allegiance to the King. The advance from 1911, when the Morley-Minto system of representative institutions was in operation in the Provinces, to 1937, when full responsible self-government is being inaugurated in the Provinces and partial self-government is being prepared for at the Centre, is a measure of the increased significance which the office of King-Emperor and the event of his Coronation must possess for the politically minded people of British India.

For the native States of India, where no system of responsible government has developed since 1911, the Coronation of the King-Emperor does not possess that special significance which attaches to it in respect of British India. But the Ruling Princes in these States are bound to the King-Emperor by treaty relations, and they recognize in him the personal embodiment of the paramount power of the Crown. Moreover, for them as monarchs, within



THE KING AND QUEEN LEAVING GOVERNMENT HOUSE, BRISBANE
after the presentation of addresses during their tour in 1927



THE KING LAYING A WREATH AT THE FOOT OF THE WAR
MEMORIAL AT KINGSTON, JAMAICA, IN 1927

their own sphere, the institution of monarchy has a more than ordinary appeal, and they have a strong interest in its maintenance and in the increase of its prestige. One of the most interesting problems in the political future of India will arise from the juxtaposition in the Native States and in the Provinces, united in a Federation, of two views of monarchy and the resulting difference in relationship with the King-Emperor which will develop between the peoples of the States and the Provinces.

It remains to add that for the people of India the Coronation at Westminster must of necessity take second place to the Durbar at Delhi, which is expected to follow in 1938. His Majesty's title of Emperor of India is not allowed to remain a mere form of words. It is intended that George VI shall visit India, as did George V in 1912, and thus mark in a personal and significant manner his assumption of the office of Emperor of India.

It is not in British India alone that important advances towards self-government and a consequent transformation in the significance of the King's office have occurred since the coronation of 1911. Southern Rhodesia, Ceylon, and Burma have each acquired in different measure and through different forms of constitutional machinery a system of self-government with safeguards. In these communities, therefore, there has been an advance towards a status in which a common allegiance to the King begins to play the predominant part in their association with the other parts of the British Empire. For them, as for the Dominions and British India, the Coronation of 1937 is a unique event.

In the Colonial Empire, with its variety of races, religions, and forms of government, no comparable change has occurred. For the peoples of the Crown Colonies and the Protectorates this Coronation will be, as was the coronation of 1911, an event of keen personal interest. Indeed, the attitude of the native peoples towards the King in most of the Colonial Possessions of His Majesty is, in a sense, a much more personal one than is that of any other section of His Majesty's subjects. They look to him as their supreme ruler and they trust to him that their

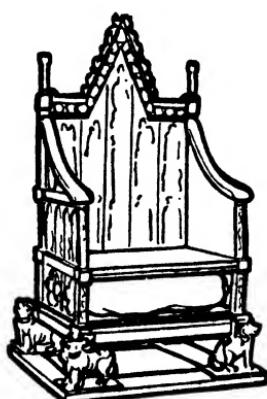
welfare and protection will be secured. They make little distinction between His Majesty and His Majesty's Government ; they understand loyalty to a person better than loyalty to an institution. Their faith in the King's will and power to safeguard them is, indeed, one of the most impressive and moving aspects of the varied relationship in which His Majesty stands to the different peoples of the Empire. It may well be a constant reminder to His Majesty's Government that in their responsibility for the good government of these native peoples they keep the King's conscience. There are not lacking signs that since 1911 the principles upon which the greater part of these Colonial communities are administered are being brought more and more into conformity with a conception of trusteeship. It is a fundamental element in this trust that His Majesty's Government should, in the words of the Governor of Nigeria to his Legislative Council in 1933, "train the people so that—whatever may be the generations or even centuries that it will take—they may ultimately be able to 'stand by themselves,' in the words of Article 22 of the Covenant." There is envisaged, that is to say, a relationship between the Colonies and the King comparable with that which has been achieved by the Dominions and which is being achieved in British India. Meanwhile, the conception of kingship in the greater part of the Colonial Empire is a simple, trustful, and essentially personal relationship between the ruler and his subjects, and His Majesty's Coronation accordingly made its own peculiar appeal to those communities.

It should not be forgotten, however, that the King's Coronation had a special personal interest for considerable parts of the Empire because His Majesty is personally known to the peoples of those parts. In 1927 the King and Queen, as Duke and Duchess of York, travelled to Australia, where His Majesty opened the first session of the Commonwealth Parliament to meet in the new Federal Capital at Canberra. The writer recalls from his personal experience the tremendous enthusiasm with which their Majesties were received in Australia and the enormous interest which their visit aroused. In the course of the journey to Australia their Majesties visited Jamaica,

CROWN AND EMPIRE

Fiji, and New Zealand, and, on the return journey, Mauritius and Malta. They had seen in this way almost every form of government in the British Empire, from the Australian Commonwealth, with its seven examples of Cabinet Government and its thirteen Houses of Parliament, to the tiny Crown Colony of Mauritius, with its simple form of administration through a Governor and Council. Throughout the tour their Majesties were received with the greatest friendliness, and their visits are still recalled with affection. There is no doubt that in these parts of the Empire the Coronation had a more than usual interest from the personal popularity which the King and Queen enjoy as a result of the tour of 1927.

It is, indeed, upon this personal aspect of kingship that the strength of the Monarchy as the fundamental link between the various parts of the Empire is founded. For if it is true that, in the words of the Imperial Conference of 1926, "the British Empire is not founded upon negations," it is true also that it is not founded upon abstractions. It is to a person rather than to an institution or to an idea that the Dominions, India, and the Colonies owe a common allegiance. That is the political fact, whatever the constitutional law may be. And since this is so, the Coronation of the King and Queen, which is essentially a personal event, must inevitably appeal to the imagination of every community which forms a part of the British Empire.



THE CORONATION CHAIR

BY LAWRENCE E. TANNER, M.V.O., F.S.A.,
KEEPER OF THE MUNIMENTS, WESTMINSTER ABBEY

IN July, 1296, Edward I, temporarily master of all Scotland, started on a triumphant progress through his new kingdom. Early in August he came to the Abbey of Scone, where beyond the memory of man had been preserved the sacred stone upon which the Scottish kings were placed at their coronations. Even at this date legend had begun to gather round the "Stone of Destiny," and Edward was well aware that an object of such reverence might well prove to be a danger and gather round it the traditions of a brave and hitherto independent people. He first removed the stone, therefore, to Edinburgh, and then caused it to be placed near the shrine of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey.

In June, 1298, Adam, the King's Goldsmith, was ordered to design and make a chair of bronze in which the stone could be enclosed. But on August 1, in a sudden fit of economy, apparently owing to the necessity for raising money for an expedition to Flanders, the King cancelled the order, and although the bronze chair had already been begun, he decided that it should be scrapped and that an exactly similar chair should be made in oak.

The present chair was then made at a cost of one hundred shillings, and Master Walter of Durham, the King's Painter, was called in to decorate it. It was finished in 1300-1301, for in the Wardrobe Account for that year Walter was paid a further sum "for making a step at the foot of the new chair in which the Scottish stone is placed near the altar before the shrine of St. Edward, and for the wages of the carpenters and of the painters. and for colours

and gold employed ; also for the making of a covering to cover the said chair." It is possible that before the present screen between the altar and the shrine was erected in the middle of the fifteenth century the chair faced west, somewhat after the manner of St. Augustine's Chair at Canterbury, and that it was used by the Abbot, as, indeed, Walsingham states, during the celebration of Mass.

It was not to be supposed that the Scottish people would easily give up so cherished a relic as the stone, and in 1328, as a result of the Treaty of Northampton, a definite attempt was made to have it restored to Scotland. In that year the King addressed a letter to the Abbot, which has recently been found among the Abbey muniments, informing him that he had commanded the Sheriffs of the City of London to receive from the Abbot the stone "sur quele les Rois d'Escoce soleient seer au temps de lour coronement," and deliver it to the Queen Mother for return to Scotland. The Sheriffs, however, were forced to report "that the Abbot and Convent refused to give up the stone until they had treated of the matter with the King and his Council." It would appear that the Abbot and convent had rightly interpreted the Royal will, for there the matter seems to have rested, and no further attempt was made to restore it to Scotland.

The chair has been used at every coronation since that of Edward II either for the anointing or for the crowning and usually for both. The only time that the chair has left the precincts of the Abbey was at the installation of Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector in Westminster Hall on June 26, 1657.

The chair (the full height of which is 6ft. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.) is of oak and was formerly enriched with gilt gesso decoration and glass mosaics. Although in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the chair was grievously mutilated, some traces of the original decoration remain. The back of the seat contained on the inner side the seated figure of a king—probably Edward the Confessor or Edward I himself—whose feet rested on a lion, but very little of this figure now remains. The inside faces of the arms of the chair, however,

THE CORONATION CHAIR

contain considerable remains of charming little panels containing naturalistic foliage, grotesques, falcons, and robins. The panels of the uprights and the spandrels of the arms seem to have had glass mosaics. The crockets and turrets at the back of the chair were sawn off by the Board of Works during the preparations for the coronation of George IV in 1821. At that time and, indeed, for a century before the chair seems to have been treated with little or no respect. People were allowed to sit in it at will, and the back, sides, and seat are covered with carved names. Some of these were cut by the boys of Westminster School. There is, for instance, in the top right-hand corner at the back of the chair a roughly incised shield on which are carved four names—N. Curzon, T. Lister, T. Pelham, and R. Assheton. These four boys were cousins and were at Westminster about 1741. On the seat of the chair is boldly cut “P. Abbott slept in this Chair, 5.6. July 1800,” but he does not appear to have been at Westminster.

The seat is made to slide in and out, and in the space beneath rests the Stone of Scone. It was originally surrounded by open oak quatrefoils. Those at the back and sides remain, but those in the front have entirely disappeared. Each of these quatrefoils seems to have been filled with a shield, but although some of these survived into the eighteenth century they have all since then been removed. The base of the chair rests on four lions, which are usually said to be a later addition to the chair, but from a recent examination there would seem to be no reason to doubt that they are really contemporary with the chair.

The geological problems connected with the Stone of Scone are discussed by Mr. Davidson in the note attached to this chapter. As is well known, it has an immense legendary history which identifies it with Jacob's Pillow, the sacred stone of Ireland, and the Chair of St. Columba. All that can be said with certainty, however, is that the stone was regarded as a sacred one as far back as the thirteenth century. At some period a rectangular sinking has been marked out in the middle of the top surface, and

there is also a roughly cut Latin cross. On each side are iron rings which were probably so placed to enable a pole to be passed through them for the purpose of carrying the stone.

THE STONE OF DESTINY

BY C. F. DAVIDSON

The Coronation Stone is a roughly rectangular hewn block of coarse-grained reddish-grey sandstone, measuring 26½in. by 16½in. and 11in. thick. It lies in a boxlike space under the seat of the Coronation Chair. According to legend, the Coronation Stone was in existence long before the birth of Christ, but its true history is only traceable from the thirteenth century onwards. The Scottish chronicler John de Fordun, who wrote about 1355, has left us a lengthy account of the coronation of Alexander III of Scotland upon the stone at Scone in the year 1249. Rishanger, another chronicler of the early fourteenth century, also records the use of the stone in the coronation of John Baliol (1292). The latter authority, and also Hemingford, Hardyng, and other early historians of Scotland, describe at length how Edward I, after he had overrun Scotland in 1296, removed the stone from Scone.

Further, among the King's jewels which were in the Castle of Edinburgh in 1296 was *una petra magna super quam Reges Scotiae solebant coronari*; and in the wardrobe accounts of Edward I for 1300 there is a payment to *Magistro Waltero Pictori* for the construction of the present Coronation Chair to contain the Stone of Scone.

The stone has been examined by successive generations of geologists, including John Macculloch, Sir A. C. Ramsay, Sir Archibald Geikie, and Sir J. J. H. Teall. Unfortunately its lithological character is such that it has always been difficult to trace it with any certainty to the locality from which it was first quarried.

Recently the writer has had an opportunity of examining microscopic sections of sand-grains and of a small porphyrite pebble obtained from the stone by Sir Jethro Teall



CORONATION STAMPS ISSUED BY OVERSEA DOMINIONS



A CONTRAST IN CORONATION MUGS

The design on the mugs made to celebrate the Coronation of Charles II and the approved design for King George's Coronation

THE CORONATION CHAIR

while it was being cleaned about 1892. The abundant grains of quartz, scarce alkali-feldspar, muscovite and decomposed biotite have been compared with similar preparations from rocks of various geological horizons, and from this study the Coronation Stone is seen to agree most closely in lithology with sandstones of Lower Old Red Sandstone age from Scotland.

These rocks are well developed in the neighbourhood of Perth and Dundee, and there are several natural exposures close to Scone itself. Specimens obtained from these areas frequently carry pebbles of porphyrite or andesite, some of which are petrographically identical with the one from the Coronation Stone. One or two similar pebbles, about the size of a pea, may be seen in the stone at Westminster.

A widespread belief that the "Stone of Destiny" was once kept at Dunstaffnage, in Argyll, and was removed from there to Scone by Kenneth MacAlpin in 843, rests solely upon the statement of Boece, the Scottish historian. As there is no authority for this view in any of the earlier Scottish chroniclers, like much of Boece's writings it must be regarded as fabulous. John Macculloch, however, in his pioneer geological work, "A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland" (1819), notes that the Coronation Stone is a calcareous sandstone exactly resembling that forming the doorway of Dunstaffnage Castle. But from a recent examination it is evident that the sandstones forming the voussoirs of this doorway are not Old Red Sandstone similar to the Coronation Stone, but are of Triassic age, probably from Carsaig, in Mull—a locality which appears also to have supplied the rock employed in parts of Iona Cathedral, the Rodel Kirk in South Harris, and probably other Hebridean buildings of medieval date. The very coarse Old Red Sandstone conglomerate on which Dunstaffnage Castle stands is quite dissimilar from the Stone of Scone, and there is no evidence for the stone having originated in this area.

The whole balance of evidence, therefore, is in favour of the stone having been quarried somewhere in the east of Perthshire or in southern Angus, probably not far from the ancient seat of the Pictish monarchy at Scone.

CROWN AND EMPIRE

MAY 12, 1937

God, who for our deliverance appointed
As guide and pattern of humanity,
The Son of Man, by men named "the anointed"
In acceptation of divinity,
Grant to the people in the king's highway,
As to the King who goes to his anointing,
That we, as he, may follow and obey
Each and for all that guide of God's appointing.
So shall the kingdom's majesty increase,
And loyal service bring the peoples peace.

V. B.

From "The Times" May 12, 1937

PART II
THE CORONATION OF
KING GEORGE VI

CORONATION DAY IN LONDON

CORONATION Day in London wore two faces. One was turned to the privileged thousands who had places in Westminster Abbey. For the millions out of doors, who saw the other, the day was made memorable by brilliant processions from Buckingham Palace to the Abbey and back again, the many hours of waiting, gladly endured, to watch them pass, and the loyal enthusiasm which acclaimed the King and Queen not only during their progress but outside Buckingham Palace that night.

“ High and low, rich and poor, one with another,” to use the summary of the Psalmist, countless people of London and strangers within their gates mingled throughout the night before the Coronation in a mighty carnival of the streets on the processional route.

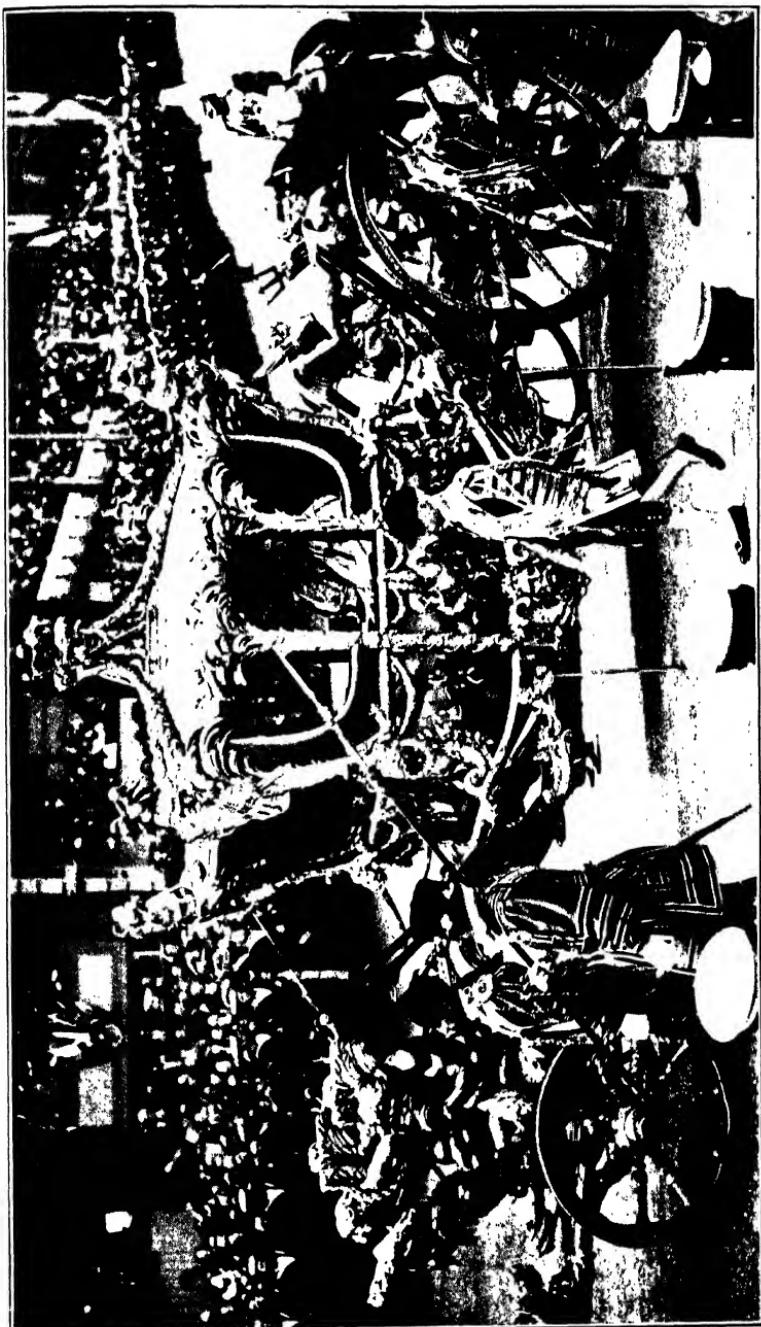
The vast concentration had begun during the evening of Tuesday, when thousands who intended to see the spectacle from the pavements came ready to pick, and to hold for twelve hours or fifteen hours or more, their positions on the kerb. These earliest arrivals were not deterred by the wheeled traffic—and heavy traffic at that, in spite of the continued strike in the omnibus service—which was running within the Coronation area till after midnight. By 12 o’clock they were packed shoulder to shoulder along the kerbs of both sides of almost the whole of the route. On boxes and on campstools of infinite variety and amazing compactness they sat, and on rugs, blankets, or newspapers spread on the stones themselves they sat or lay, and with them were bags, baskets, suitcases, and haversacks filled with food, and vacuum flasks of tea and coffee, or perhaps bottles of something stronger. Most of them wisely wore overcoats or mackintoshes, for the weather was chilly for such inaction, and through the early hours a damp, wintry mist prevailed.

For headgear the commonest alternative to the ordinary article was a paper cap of red, white, and blue, and the national colour scheme appeared also in a score of different forms of decoration on the clothing. Where the light was good enough there were people placidly reading or solving crossword puzzles, or writing letters, or knitting, as in a theatre queue. Large numbers slept, completely wrapped, even to their heads, in blankets or newspapers. To help the needs of these ranks of patient people there moved up and down a host of hawkers of food of many kinds, of patriotic emblems and periscopes, programmes, and early editions of morning newspapers. For their entertainment there was no lack of musicians, white-faced and black-faced, acrobats, and groups of amateur dancers. Every kind of portable musical instrument was to be seen and heard.

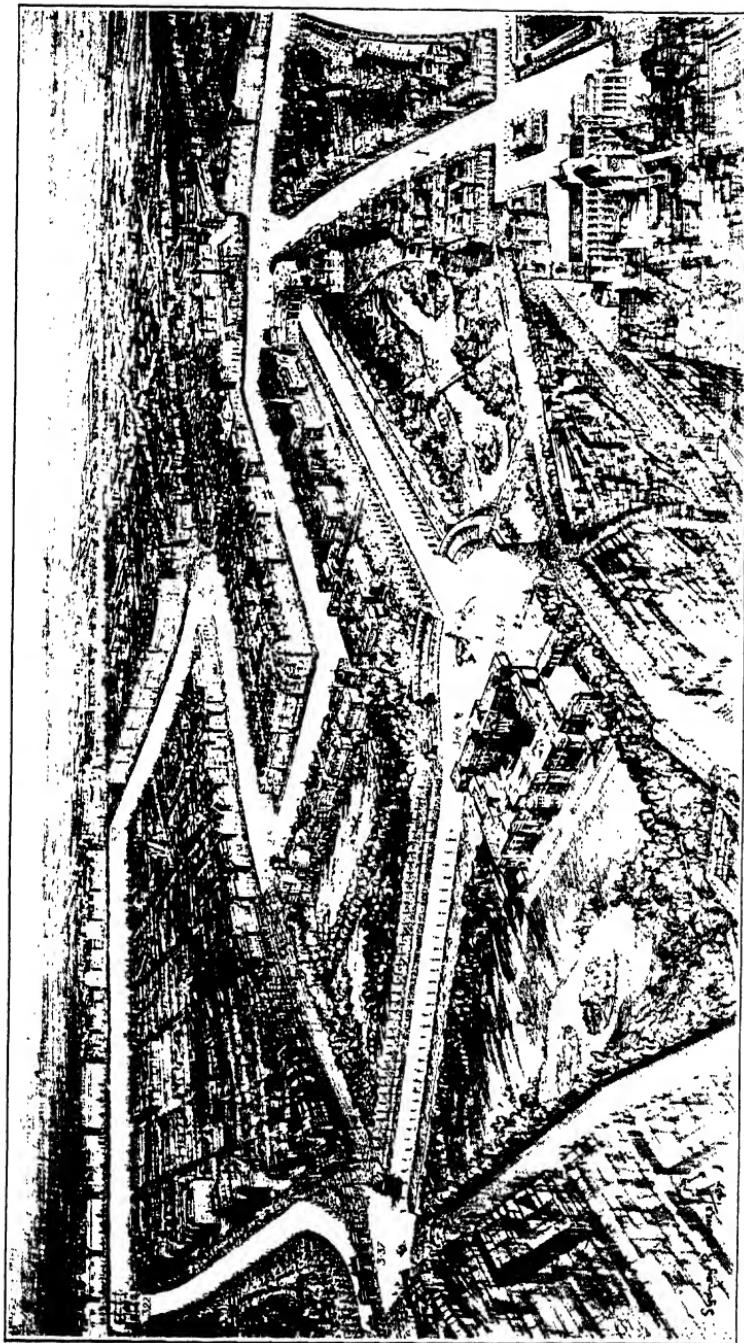
The noise and mirth were at their greatest volume between 1 and 2 o'clock in Piccadilly and at the Circus, the Mall, and Trafalgar Square, and the contrasting stillness and bareness of the immediate neighbourhood of darkened Buckingham Palace, which had been cleared by the police after 12.30, were extraordinary. So, also, was the comparative quiet of the immense crowds gathered in Whitehall and close to the silent though lighted Annexe of the Abbey. There were seatholders in their places in the great stand in Parliament Square well before 2 o'clock.

Hyde Park afforded the best sleeping place. At one time there was heavy mist in the Park, and visibility was restricted to a bare twenty yards. Dim figures retired at intervals across the grass to the depth of the Park armed with sacks, rugs, sleeping-bags, and newspapers to keep themselves warm, while their comrades remained seated patiently, head to shoulder, along East Carriage Walk, with many a promise to keep places warm for the sleepers when they should return.

In Oxford Street the crowd was at its gayest and the fun was high. Parties joined up and walked along Oxford Street and Regent Street and back again time after time in an effort to keep themselves warm and their tired spirits from flagging. Many had been travelling for hours and had not sat down since afternoon. Every fifty yards one



THE KING AND QUEEN IN THE STATE COACH ON THEIR WAY TO WESTMINSTER ABBEY



THE CORONATION PROCESSIONAL ROUTE

A bird's eye view specially drawn for *The Times* by Mr. Sydney R. Jones, showing Buckingham Palace in the centre foreground, Hyde Park Corner and the Marble Arch on the left, and Westminster Abbey and the Embankment on the right

came upon an impromptu concert party, singing to the accompaniment of bagpipes, accordions, and guitars. In several places a circle had been made for dancing. In Regent Street the crowds were thicker still. People reclined uncomfortably on the pavements in rows of six and seven deep. By 3 o'clock the entrances to all the side streets were crammed with standing men and women, who could look forward to a twelve-hour vigil without any prospect of sitting down, or even of moving, for fear of losing their places.

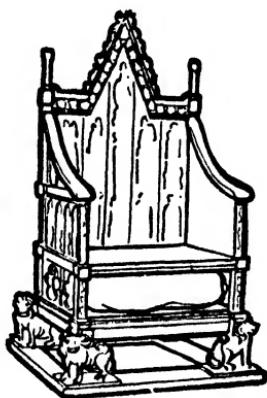
So the night hours slipped by in a babel of noise and a kaleidoscope of movement. Just before 4 o'clock the terminal stations of the railway services awoke to violent life as the first of a series of early trains came in, to throw more tens of thousands from the suburbs and Home Counties on to the route. By half-past 4 so vast a multitude was in the Coronation area that south of Oxford Street many of the great wooden barriers at key points were closed, and afterwards, up to about 7, only partially opened to admit small groups of latecomers when there seemed a possibility of absorbing them.

If the ghost of Private Willis of the Grenadier Guards had returned to his post of duty in Palace Yard he must, indeed, have witnessed sights that would astonish him. One doubts whether there have been such goings on since that evening when the Queen of the Fairies proceeded there from Arcady and insisted upon both Houses of Parliament passing any legislation which Strephon, the newly elected member, might bring forward.

Private Willis might have missed the chorus of peers singing their stirring march from *Iolanthe*, but he would have found plenty of members of the Upper House in resplendent robes, and he would doubtless have been specially pleased with those who carried their coronets with them. But one cannot help feeling that even more would he have enjoyed the arrival of the Parliamentary train, bringing members of both Houses of Parliament and their friends from Kensington to Westminster (admission restricted to those who had purchased threepenny tickets beforehand, itself an idea which might have inspired Gilbert to write an additional lyric).

CROWN AND EMPIRE

The cars bringing guests to the Abbey flowed in and away again without delay ; the few noblemen who employed the magnificence of their State coaches—the Marquess of Bute, the Marquess of Exeter, the Marquess of Londonderry, and Earl Spencer—were received with gratitude for so early and so welcome a piece of pageantry ; and before the first processions began to arrive everything in the Abbey and outside it was so well settled that peers wandered out in their robes to stand behind the section of the crowd that had by then been allowed to stream across the entrance to Abingdon Street.



THE ROYAL PROGRESS

AS the King and Queen left Buckingham Palace at half-past 10 the sun shone. It added to a procession already splendid the final glory that only abundant light extracts from heraldic tinctures and polished steel. And, since this matter of King's weather has not received from meteorologists the attention it deserves, it should be put on record that the sun first became properly visible only a quarter of an hour before the State coach set out.

If it is permissible to regard the ordering of the day as a consciously artistic performance—and our great State ceremonies encourage the belief that as a people we are, if not artists, at any rate not bad at pageantry—then the improvement in the weather during the morning could not have been better arranged to enhance the effect. If the sky was dull to begin with, so, it must be confessed, was the early morning wait in front of the Palace before pageantry took charge. From the stand on the Queen Victoria Memorial, facing the Palace and cut off from sight of The Mall, no vast concourse of people could be seen. Most of the space before the Palace, between Constitution Hill on one side and Buckingham Gate on the other, was perforce left free for the continual movement of troops and for the processions. A covered stand on each side filled up gradually, and at each end of the Palace railings a privileged crowd stood on the pavements. Inside the railings was a fringe of Royal servants, for whom this position was reserved. The Palace skyline was broken by others, looking down from the roof, over which flew the Royal Standard.

Among the spectators who had places on the Victoria Memorial were dark-skinned officers and men of Indian regiments, in many uniforms and sometimes strange headdresses, and of India's young Navy.

The first procession, like those that followed it, left punctually. It was the motor-car procession of representatives of foreign Powers, some of Royal blood and related to our own Royal Family. More than fifty cars came out from the Palace quadrangle, one after another, and set out smoothly for the Abbey, while the Grenadier Guards lining the pavements stood at the slope. Now carriages were arriving from the Royal Mews and turning into the Palace, and from this time onward there was no lack of movement or colour.

The first big cheer came from the crowd with the appearance of the Prime Minister and Mrs. Baldwin in the first carriage of the procession of Empire Prime Ministers and representatives. Here, too, began the contribution of the Empire's defence forces—a contribution of wonderful diversity and impressiveness. It opened with Mr. and Mrs. Baldwin's escort of Metropolitan mounted police—a prosaic start, possibly, yet a deserved tribute to that force and also not without significance as a sidelight on the mind of a peace-loving people. The Prime Minister of Canada came next. His escort was four Royal Canadian Mounted Police—fine figures in scarlet tunics, more picturesque than London policemen, but dedicated to the same peaceable ends. With the Prime Ministers of Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa rode mounted escorts from those countries. Indian cavalry rode behind the carriage of the representatives of India and Burma. The Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, again, had an escort of his own people. The 5th Royal Inniskilling Dragoon Guards provided the escort for the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland and Lady Craigavon, and troopers of the 16th/5th Lancers escorted the last three carriages, those of the Colonial rulers.

Then arrived the Blues, who were to provide the Captain's Escort for the procession of the Royal Family, and behind them the guards of honour. Royal Air Force, Grenadier Guards, and a detachment of the Royal Navy, all marching splendidly behind their bands, took up successive positions with their backs to the Palace, in front of the railings. The Guards halted with their Standard in the mathematical centre of the main gateway.

In the first carriage of this procession, a glass coach, were the Princess Royal with Princess Elizabeth and Princess Margaret ; in a second glass coach were the Duchess of Kent and the Duchess of Gloucester. The young Lord Lascelles was with his mother in the first coach ; his brother sat facing the Royal duchesses in the second. In the third carriage, a State landau, were Prince and Princess Arthur of Connaught, with Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone.

Mounted grooms led a string of fine chargers into the Palace and were followed by the Life Guards, riding out of Constitution Hill behind the massed bands of their own regiment and the Royal Horse Guards. The bands, a gorgeous group in laced coats and jockey caps, waited at the south centre gate, the two drum-horses in front. As the Royal Standard was carried past the guards of honour presented arms. The Sovereign's Escort rode into the quadrangle of the Palace and waited. Behind their Standard could be seen dimly the ornate State coach, also motionless. The sun had come out to add light and shade to the little picture framed in the arch.

A high officer in the forecourt raised his baton. It was the signal that the King and Queen were about to set out for the momentous ceremony. The waiting troops received them with a Royal Salute and the National Anthem. The mounted troops that were to precede Their Majesties had meanwhile ridden down Constitution Hill and into The Mall. Yeomanry, Scouts, the Honourable Artillery Company, cavalry, field-guns of the Royal Artillery, and "K" Battery of the Royal Horse Artillery, also with its guns, were followed by mounted officers of exalted rank in all the Services. The Sea Lords of the Board of Admiralty were on horseback, like the Air and Army Councils and all the others. The three Maharajahs, who are the King's Honorary Indian Aides-de-Camp, added an Oriental splendour with their jewelled turbans and different uniforms in subtle hues of cream and gold and blue.

The great cheers which had been reserved for Their Majesties broke out again and again as their equipage

came out of the gate within its escort of Life Guards. Four postilions in short red jackets and jockey caps drove the eight Windsor greys, beside which walked grooms. In front of the massed bands, which struck up a spirited march as their horses moved forward, were escorts of mounted Colonial, Dominion, and Indian Army officers, with three other groups on foot—the King's Marshalmen, Yeomen of the Guard, Bargemaster, and Watermen, in uniforms which brought vanished centuries to life. A little behind the State coach rode the Duke of Gloucester, in Army uniform, and the Duke of Kent, in Naval uniform, at the centre of a group of other richly dressed officers, among whom were the Earl of Harewood, the Earl of Athlone, and Lord Louis Mountbatten. The Queen's cloak of ermine was more clearly seen than the King's dress, but on his brow could be distinguished the ermine rim of the Cap of Maintenance. They made a marvellous picture sitting side by side.

The Mall is one of the finest processional routes in the world, and though in the early hours a faint mist prevented a view of it from end to end the dull skies could not diminish the magnificence of the setting of this first stage of the King's journey nor affect the sparkle from the crowds who had come to enjoy it.

Before 7 o'clock the last touch to the preparations had been added by the arrival of the battalions of the Guards, who lined with a hedge of scarlet topped with bearskins the route as far as the Duke of York's Steps, and the splendid detachments of sturdy sailors, each detachment under an officer superb in dark blue and gold, who continued the hedge up to and beyond the Admiralty Arch.

At one point the line was doubled to make room for a contingent of cadets neatly ranged in size from the lanky to the midget. The crowd cheered them all impartially, but reserved its warmest welcome for a detachment of the Royal Indian Navy, who swung along with all the pride of a new Service and all the smartness of the ancient Service of which they are now a branch.

Queen Mary, on leaving Marlborough House for the Abbey, received a great ovation. Preceded and followed

by a Captain's Escort of the Royal Horse Guards, she passed on this, her third Coronation procession, amid an enthusiasm which the years had strengthened with love and respect. Behind the escort came a single landau bearing members of her suite and of the suite of the Queen of Norway, who sat by her side. It was the simplest and the shortest of all the processions, but not the least impressive. Immediately Queen Mary had passed, the head of the procession of the King and Queen formed up at the Admiralty Arch. The whole of The Mall became one long vista of brilliant uniforms and tossing plumes.

The air was filled with the clatter of hoofs, the jingle of harness, and the scrunching of the wheels of guns and limbers. But as the procession got under way every other noise was drowned in the volleys of cheering. As the eye looked up the long vista of the crowded stands, it could tell the progress of the King and Queen by an advancing line of fluttering handkerchiefs and an ever-swelling tide of cheers. The tide mingled with a swirl of surrounding movement and a roar of encircling enthusiasm. There was a glimpse, over the gorgeously painted panels and through the gold-encrusted windows of the coach, of Their Majesties, pale but serene, bowing acknowledgments of their greeting and exchanging a word or two with each other.

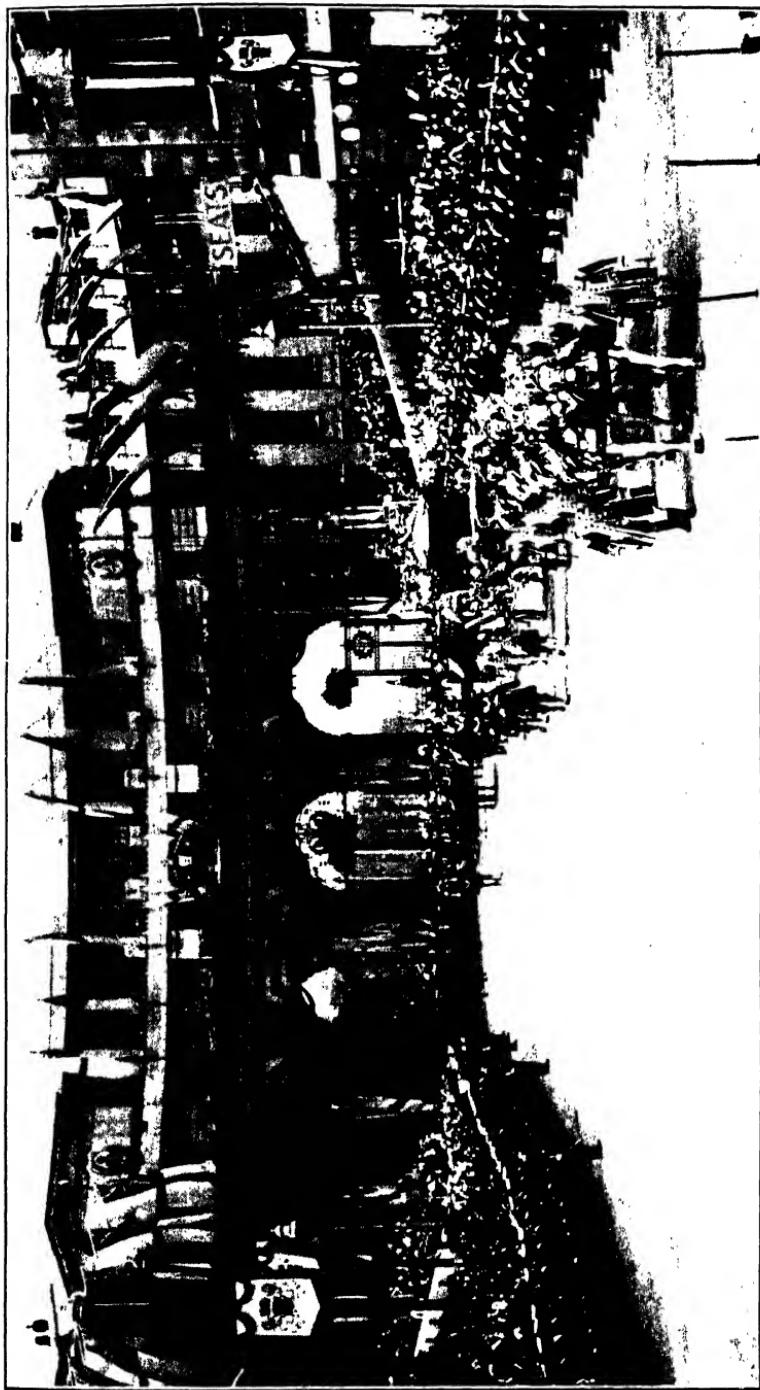
The great crowd in Trafalgar Square shouted itself hoarse as the coach passed at walking pace so close that bouquets might have been thrown to the King and Queen. The sight of the processions moved even those who had expected most to full enthusiasm. As one contingent of troops followed another clad in the new Army blue the eye found itself ceasing to look for the colour of past pageants and becoming absorbed in the magnificence of a military precision rarely presented with such uniformity in so large a parade. Glimpses of colour came into the picture with the red and yellow of the Sudanese uniforms, or with the scarlet tunics of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. But the splendid marching and the fine carriage of sailors and marines, soldiers and airmen, held the eye most of the time until there arrived at last the breastplates and plumes of the Life Guards, which heralded the

approach of the King and Queen. Then the cheers were redoubled and continually renewed.

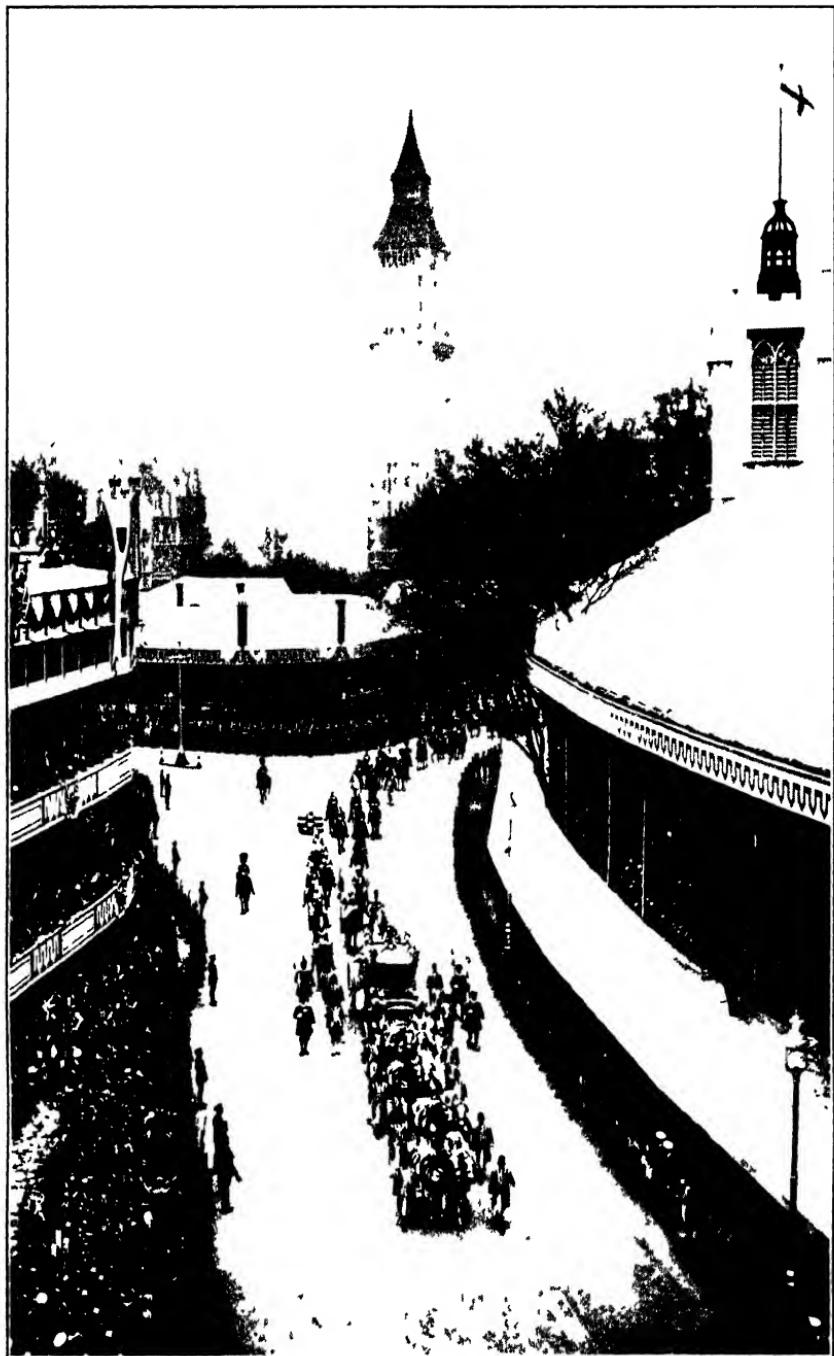
In Whitehall a repentant sun increased the splendour of the ceremony. As each Royal procession neared the Cenotaph light broke from a pale sky to gild still further the glass coaches and paint the painted panels of the State coach. Behind the lines of police and sailors the people were seven or eight deep, those in front, whose rugs and blankets indicated a whole night of waiting, seated on the kerb. The more fortunate back row had room to scatter into many little picnic parties among the litter on the pavement. When there was something to see the heads were interspersed with gaily-coloured cardboard periscopes.

The scene was set in Broad Sanctuary with the arrival of the guards of honour and the bands of the Royal Marines, the 1st Battalion, Coldstream Guards, and the Royal Air Force. There had been many arrivals at the Abbey before then, but they had not come this way, and the serenity of Broad Sanctuary was undisturbed. The gay stands and the dense crowds ended at Westminster Hospital, the front of which was transformed by three tiers of thronged seats. At other points the people had been held back so as to leave routes for the constituent sections of the procession to get clear, and only clusters were gathered in the jaws of Victoria Street and Tothill Street. These were people, it was said, who had arrived so very many hours before that no barrier had intercepted them.

The temporary Annexe to the West Front of the Abbey, toning truly with the ancient fabric yet not vainly assuming equality, had its own doors of light oak, chastely carved. They opened only for members of the Royal Family. The steps were carpeted in blue, with white edgings, newly fitted in the grey of the morning, and the canopy above was of scarlet and gold. Peers and peeresses, statesmen, diplomats, and other distinguished visitors had other means of ingress. Their coming was to the people in Broad Sanctuary something like an echo. Those who waited there caught the cheers for those who were recognized and welcomed, but only their unidentifiable equipages passed by—save, of course, those of the Lord Mayor of London,



THE STATE COACH AFTER PASSING THROUGH THE ADMIRALTY ARCH ON THE WAY TO THE ABBEY.



THE ROYAL COACH APPROACHING THE ABBEY

with its six horses, and that of the Speaker of the House of Commons, a cumbrous anachronism drawn by dray horses, out of place in the high-bred company of the occasion.

The first hint of the sun did not come till 10 o'clock. Its cheering glow, for it was never strong enough to hail as sunshine true and proper, brightened the thoughts of the watchers with a prospect of "King's weather after all." The promise held through the rest of the morning and until the Royal procession had left the Abbey, and then alas ! after the brightest spell of the day, and the most joyful to those who saw the King's departure, the sky clouded and the rain fell. Their own serene good fortune was not shared by the spectators on the long homeward route.

When the main doors were opened to admit the Princess Royal, Princess Elizabeth, and Princess Margaret there was a particularly happy greeting for the young Princesses, though they were in view only a few moments. With them was Lord Lascelles. They were received by the Earl Marshal and receded into the shadow of a doorway, where, dimly in the background, stood two Yeomen of the Guard. The Duchess of Gloucester and the Duchess of Kent, Princess Arthur of Connaught and Princess Alice followed. Then the doors closed again until the arrival of Queen Mary—to be rapturously greeted—with the Queen of Norway.

Each later arrival outdid the last in dignity of reception and fineness of retinue. That of the King and Queen outblazoned all. The splendid cavalcade of Regular and Territorial troops, horse, foot, and artillery ; the mounted bands of The Royal Scots Greys, the Royal Artillery, and, exceeding in splendour, the massed bands of the Household Cavalry ; the King's Bodyguard of the Yeomen of the Guard ; the King's Bargemaster and twelve Watermen, in the gayest scarlet ; the glorious escort of Indian Army officers, and the Sovereign's Escort of superbly mounted cavalry preceded His Majesty. And the marvel of surprise of the beholders grew with each added contingent and reached a climax of resounding applause for the King and

CROWN AND EMPIRE

Queen in their resplendent coach with its team of eight greys.

The heavily caparisoned horses stopped, the footmen alighted. The three bands unitedly played the National Anthem as the King stepped from the coach and the Queen after him, waiting a moment or two while the train-bearers took their places, and then moving forward out of sight. The Royal Standard was flown from the Annexe so long as the King and Queen were within, and when they passed into the Abbey it was hauled down and another appeared on the tower of the Abbey itself.

There was, amid and after the cheering, quiet and noble pageantry in all these movements of arrival at the doors of the House of God. The tumult of applause died away. The King and Queen bore themselves as more conscious of the Presence into which they were coming than aware of the acclamations of those who had waited long, and yet not wearily, for their coming and who now, sharing a spirit which perhaps they caught from the Royal demeanour, were hushed and stilled by the solemnizing thought of their King offering his vows before the King of Kings—an act of self-dedication to the service of his God and the welfare of his people.



THE CROWNING OF GEORGE VI

AGAINST the Abbey's outer walls the tumult of acclamation broke and largely spent itself. Only muted echoes of jubilant pageantry diversified the deep harmony of ordered preparation now completing within the great church a scene that was to add a richly illuminated page to English history. The first Royal processions had made their stately progresses ; the prelusive rites accomplished, the clergy, chanting the Litany, had passed to the vestibule ; nave, choir, and transepts shone with gemmed magnificence. It was a scene of high pomp and solemn mystery, in which endless meanings could glow until all were resolved into one when the trumpets spoke the entry of the chief procession from the Western Door.

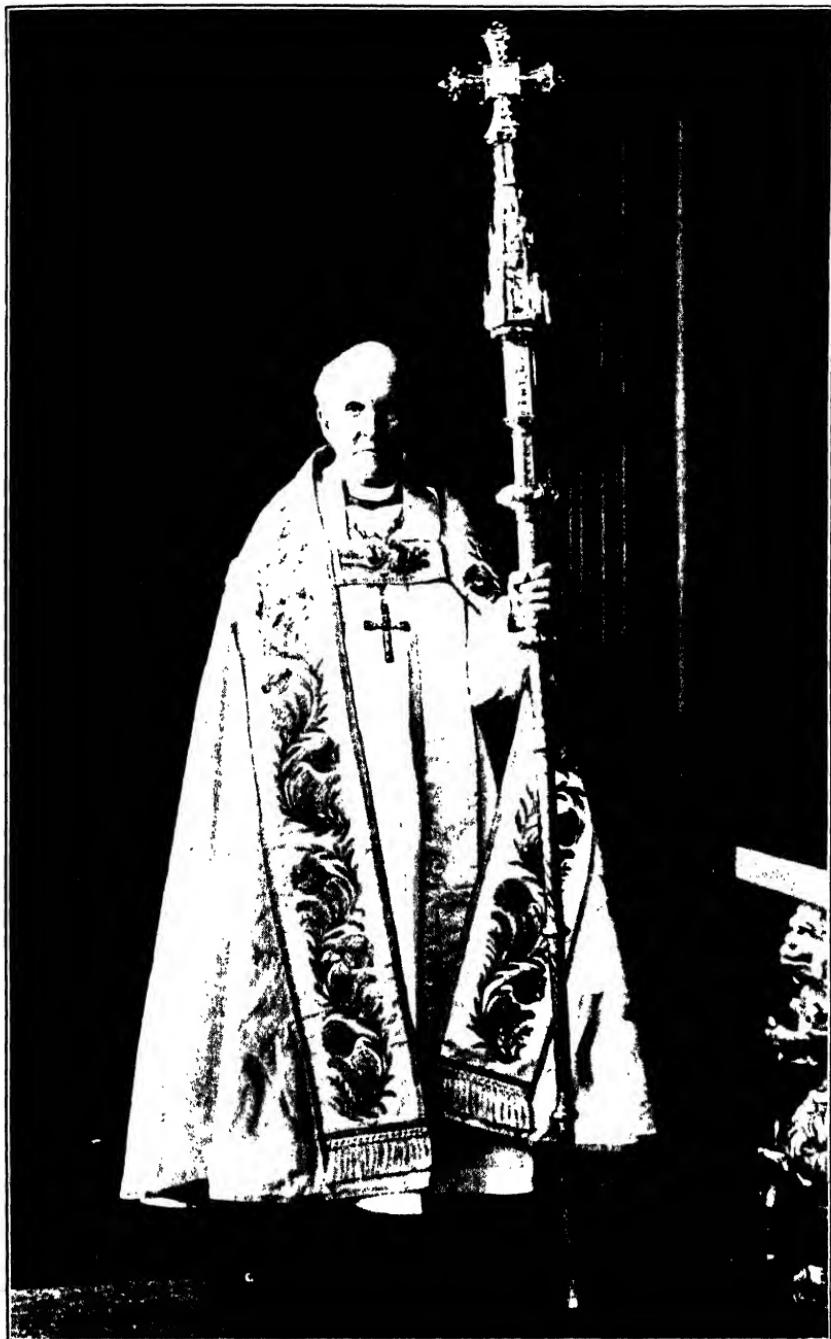
At the other end of the lofty church, before the golden radiance of the high altar in the sanctuary, stood the antique chair of King Edward. In surroundings so august the oaken chair, raised upon its freshly gilded lions, seemed to strike a note of rude simplicity, proclaiming amid the complexities of symbolic splendours the true purpose of the thousand-year-old ceremony for which it stood ready. Here, holding the Stone of Destiny on which kings have been crowned from time immemorial, was the chair, and here, moving towards it with resolute carriage, the King, come to seal in the sight of God a solemn covenant between himself and his people.

For such was the meaning at the core of a ceremony of so many visible formulas, so many archaic survivals and living symbols, all so richly and variously accoutred that none could decipher the whole, unless granted, like that Virgilian swimmer who saw Italy from the crest of a wave, a moment of transcendent revelation. The congregation were met together, not that the senses might be gratified

by the opulence of gold and miniver, purple and crimson and rose, but that the mind should be given to a Great Solemnity charged with significance to a vast family of peoples scattered across the world. The Crown is the link of our Empire, and the consecration of the King to the governance and service of his people "according to their respective laws and customs" is an act of dedication which unites the whole commonwealth in supplication and hope. This sense of participation in one of the high moments of the nation's life was not lessened, it was, indeed, greatly enhanced, by remembering that, as had never before been possible, the Coronation rite was extended in space by the microphone, and that fellow subjects at the ends of the Empire—at all points of clock and compass—were fellow participants with the privileged and brilliant company in the Abbey.

And what place more apt to spring the imagination of England's lovers and exiles could be chosen? Thronged with the echoes of the centuries and hallowed by the tombs and relics of the great dead, Westminster Abbey, shrine of the Confessor, is the "Royal church of our nation's childhood," and to it the memories of the race return. All who saw how graciously the ancient fane lent its own genius to the scene must have felt for it a fresh access of pride and affection. The quiet coolness of stone gave to the iridescence of crowded tiers and galleries the seemliness that it is wont to impose on the blazonry of stained glass, and all the bright things, range the eye where it would, melted into a mellow, diffused lustre. Every movement in the ancient, historic, fortuitously involved ceremony owed something to the art of the medieval builders, to the high, tranquil loveliness linked by sweeping lines to the spectacle beneath. Daylight, falling from the clerestory windows, was transmuted into gold by the Abbey candelabra; and in their benignity every object seemed to have just the light that it needed.

When the doors were closed and the congregation in their seats, each limb of the gigantic cross—as the Abbey appeared to the few who commanded its whole length—was deep inlaid with colour. But there were still patches of emptiness. Titian, having begun a picture with resolute



THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY
(Dr. Cosmo Gordon Lang)



THE BISHOP OF DURHAM
(Dr. Hensley Henson)



THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK
(Dr. Temple)



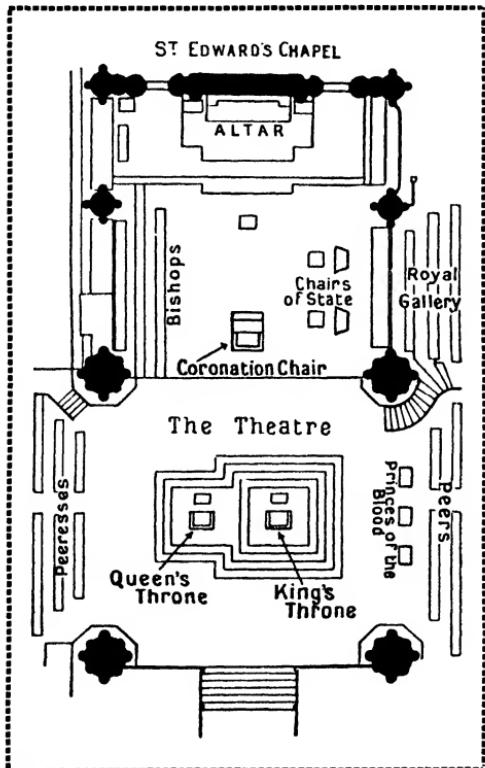
THE DEAN OF WESTMINSTER
(Dr. Foxley Norris)



THE BISHOP OF LONDON
(Dr. Winnington Ingram)

THE CROWNINGING OF GEORGE VI

strokes of a heavily laden brush, was in the habit of laying it aside for a while. Thus at this early hour the Abbey may be visualized as an unfinished canvas greatly begun and waiting for the last magical touches that were to turn it into a thing of glorious beauty. Of the brushwork already laid on the picture the valances draping the galleries were an important part, for they carried the same exquisite pattern of mural decoration in blue and gold throughout the building. On the tiers which filled



the aisles and gave the immense nave the containment of a chapel, uniforms and Court dress freaked with scarlet and dark blue the soft whiteness of the ladies' attire. Here was no more to be added, but many of the dark oaken stalls in the choir still awaited the Royal representatives and guests whose brilliance their plainness was to heighten. In the transepts were to be seen row upon row of crimson

and miniver, the peers and peeresses, and all the high galleries showed glimpses of gold and scarlet, velvet and satin and lace worn by armed men and bejewelled women. At the centre of the great cross, offering rest to the eye, was the empty Theatre. Here, raised on the dais five golden steps high, stood the King's Throne, and two steps lower the Throne of the Queen. The two chairs of Estate were on the south side, before the tomb of Anne of Cleves, over which was the parchment-coloured Royal box. Beyond was the high altar, and before it the Crowning Chair of King Edward.

The Western Door was first thrown open for the entry of those members of the Royal Family who arrived early at the Abbey. They were conducted to their places in the Royal Gallery. Shortly afterwards came the resplendent procession of Royal representatives and guests. In its van were Prince and Princess Chichibu—no strangers to this country, and recalling by their presence memories of the Emperor's own visit when he was Crown Prince—and the Count of Flanders, representing the King of the Belgians. Princess Juliana, walking with her husband, Prince Bernhard, drew the friendly gaze of the congregation, and after the Crown Princes and Crown Princesses of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, a glittering phalanx, came Mr. James W. Gerard, the special representative of the President of the United States, wearing plain evening dress, General Pershing at his side. The decorations on their breasts recalled the services of these two Americans to this country. These, with others whose names were given in the Order of the Processions, passed to their appointed places in the choir.

Here, too, were the Indian Princes, robed in the rich fabrics of the East, their sparkling gems not insignificant against those of the Regalia. Among them were the popular Maharajah of Bikaner, who has behind him so great a record as soldier, administrator, and statesman; the Prince of Berar, representing his father, the Nizam of Hyderabad, who, by long-established tradition, does not himself travel abroad; Sir Prabashankar Pattani, maker of modern Bhavnagar; the Maharajah Gaekwar of Baroda, with the Maharani at his side; and those keen

THE CROWNING OF GEORGE VI

polo players, the Nawab of Bhopal and the Maharajah of Jaipur. Here in procession had come the Lord Mayor and the Speaker of the House of Commons in his wig and robes, the latter with the Mace, over which a veil would be thrown as the King passed. Cabinet and ex-Cabinet Ministers in Privy Councillors' dress were on both sides of the choir, among them the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Attlee, Mr. Eden, Sir John Simon, and Sir Samuel Hoare. Distinguished in this distinguished assembly were the Ambassadors in residence here.

Above the stalls thus occupied stretched almost to the roof a choir of 500 choristers drawn from the great churches and cathedrals, together with singers from the Dominions, under the direction of Dr. Ernest Bullock, with a full orchestra and additional players of brass instruments from Kneller Hall. In the long hours of waiting strains of music, solemn symphony and stirring march, sounded through the Abbey, attuning the mind of the congregation come this day to do their homage and service. Meanwhile the eye had been delighted by successive small processions of peers and peeresses on their way to their places in the transepts. Each peeress as she came, with outspread crimson train and bearing her coronet before her, was a fresh flourish to the painted picture. In the south transept, opposite the peeresses, sat the peers—dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts, and barons—in their degrees of nobility, a historic spectacle as lustrous and as deep-hearted as a ruby. Higher in either transept was a wide shelving gallery from which members of the House of Commons and their families looked down into the Theatre. The Bishops who were not taking part in the ceremonial were seated in a double row on the north of the sacrairum in their Convocation robes with chimeres over their rochets. The Judges in their robes were in a gallery at a north-east angle. Here was a congregation such as no event less than a Coronation could bring into being—a mosaic of life within the Empire.

Now the Regalia were brought from the Jerusalem Chamber to St. Edward's Shrine and thence to the high altar. They were carried in procession. The Dean and Chapter and the Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal were attended by the choirs of the Abbey and the Chapel Royal,

with forty King's Scholars of Westminster School, distinguished from the rest by the simple white surplices they wore with evening dress, white bands, knee-breeches, and buckled shoes. The Regalia were borne to the vestibule and given into the keeping of the Lord Great Chamberlain, who distributed them to the great officers who were to carry them. It was during this procession that the Litany, formerly an integral part of the Coronation Service itself, was sung, a departure for which the congregation were grateful.

Not long after the Litany was ended came the procession of the Princes and Princesses of the Blood Royal. Close behind the Pursuivants on either side of the Princess Royal were Princess Elizabeth and Princess Margaret, and all eyes went to them, small figures advancing with a pretty wonder into a reality as fair as any fable. Then the Duchess of Gloucester and the Duchess of Kent, their coronets upheld and their trains swaying in the hands of ladies and gentlemen and pages. With them were the King's great-aunts and cousins, similarly attended.

Minutes were passing quickly now. The Western Door filled with a processional splendour greater than any yet seen, and Queen Mary, accompanied by the Queen of Norway, entered the church. Her grandson, the Hon. Gerald Lascelles, and four youthful peers bore her train, and in her splendid retinue were some who a quarter of a century ago had seen her assume in that place the burdens which she was to carry so magnificently. As she passed through the choir all bowed, and Her Majesty bowed right and left. In front of the Princess Royal and the small Princesses, who were awaiting her in temporary seats at the side of the dais, she paused interrogatively, and all three Princesses followed her up the curving staircase that led to the Royal Gallery.

The fanfare of trumpets sounded, and again all rose, knowing that the moment, long awaited, was almost here. The King and Queen were coming to their crowning. Before them moved a procession impressively mingling the dignity of Church and State. The gleaming cross of the Abbey, borne before the Dean, was preceded by the King's Chaplains and the representatives of the Free Churches

and the Church of Scotland. Then the proudly swaying Standards—of India, of South Africa, of New Zealand, of Australia, and of Canada ; the Union Standard, the Standard of Wales, the Standard of the Quarterings of the Royal Arms, borne by Lord Derby, and, last, the Royal Standard borne by Lord Cholmondeley. The Barons of the Cinque Ports, in their scarlet cloaks, awaited the Standards this side of the choir, and to them the staves were handed as the bearers passed on to their places. Behind the Knights of the Garter appointed to hold the canopy for the King's anointing walked Mr. Baldwin with Mr. MacDonald. Here, also, were the Dominion Prime Ministers—Mr. J. A. Lyons, Mr. Mackenzie King, General Herzog, and Mr. Savage. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who was to play such a great part in the ceremony, was preceded by the Archbishop of York, and their crosses were borne before them.

The choir had begun the anthem : “ I was glad when they said unto me.” “ Vivat, vivat Regina Elizabetha ” rang out from the Westminster boys. Here were the Queen's Regalia, and now the Queen in her white robe exquisitely embroidered, a collar of sparkling jewels at her throat, her long train outspread in the hands of six ladies. She advanced with quiet dignity and gentle grace, attended by the Mistress of the Robes, stirring all hearts to fealty as she passed.

While this radiant picture still possessed the mind the King's Regalia came into view. A triumphant “ Vivat, vivat Rex Georgius ” filled the air, and the King was here. A tall and youthful figure in his crimson robe of State, and wearing the Collar of the Garter and the Cap of Maintenance, he moved up the nave with his great officers in their shining mantles about him. Among the bearers of his immense purple ermine-bordered train were three whose names carried an echo of special significance—Jellicoe, Haig, and Kitchener. As the King entered the choir the uplifted Standards were dipped. He took his place at the Chair of Estate, which was placed on the south side of the High Altar. At her Chair of Estate, nearer the dais, was the Queen ; in the space between them stood their Bishops, and behind them the great dignitaries. Their Majesties

having made their private devotions at the faldstools, seated themselves. The tide of pomp was at the full.

All was ready for the ceremony to begin. After a short pause the Archbishop rose from his seat on the north side of the altar and moved down to the Theatre for the Recognition. Four great personages detached themselves, from about the King and joined him—the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Lord High Constable, and the Earl Marshal—but the Lord High Steward, bearing St. Edward's Crown on its velvet cushion, remained standing in his place. The five dignitaries moved in single file round the Theatre, Garter King of Arms, in his quartered tabard, leading the way.

The King, disregarding, like his father before him, the rubric that instructed him to stand by his chair, where he was hidden from the main congregation in the nave, came out into the middle of the sacrarium that he might be seen by all the assembly. There he took his stand on the north side of the Coronation Chair, his pages arranging his train along the carpet, where it lay leading the eye towards the altar. As the Archbishop and his companions came to each side of the Theatre they turned in line to face the congregation on that side, while the King turned slightly in the same direction, and the Archbishop cried out :

SIRS, I here present unto you King GEORGE, your undoubted King : Wherefore all you who are come this day to do your homage and service, Are you willing to do the same ?

Four times the words were pronounced and four times the answering shout went up “ God Save King George,” the last cry merging in a fanfare of trumpets proclaiming that the people, after the manner of their ancestors from immemorial times, had acknowledged their allegiance to their new Sovereign, and desired the Church to proceed to his consecration.

The King, who had acknowledged each acclamation with a stately bow, resumed his seat, while the material objects required for the rite were assembled. First the Bishops of Norwich, London, and Winchester laid on the altar the Bible, the paten, and the chalice. Then the various pieces of the Regalia were handed over one by one

to the Archbishop, the Crown last, by the lay lords who had borne them, the State surrendering into the guardianship of the Church the emblems of temporal dominion in order that they might come to the King as a trust from God. Each, as he received it, was handed by the Archbishop to the Dean, who laid it upon the altar. Only the four swords were retained in secular hands. Added to the wonderful array of the Abbey plate, and the splendid cloth of gold frontal, the Regalia made the altar resemble a mass of gold.

Here, according to the practice observed since the Coronation of William and Mary, the Communion Service used to begin. But on this occasion, by a reversion to medieval custom, which is undoubtedly an improvement to the orderly progression of the ceremony, the Oath was taken from a later place in the service and inserted at this point. So the people's declaration of loyalty to their King was immediately followed by his solemn promise to keep faith with them.

Sitting in his Chair of Estate and holding in his hands the book containing the Oath, the King answered the threefold question of the Archbishop, promising to govern all his peoples according to their respective laws and customs ; to cause law and justice, in mercy, to be executed in all his judgments ; to maintain the settlement of the Church of England and, in the United Kingdom, the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law.

Having recited the words of promise the King left his seat and, accompanied by the Lord Great Chamberlain, followed the Sword of State to the altar steps, where he knelt and bared his head. The Archbishop extended to him the Great Bible, open at the Gospel of St. John, and the King, laying his right hand upon the page, said :

The things which I have here before promised, I will perform, and keep. So help me God.

All the responses in this section of the service, the only one in which he was required to speak, came from the King in low tones and very deliberate accents, but clearly and confidently. He kissed the Book, signed the parchment containing the text of the Oath, and returned to his seat.

Now came a break in the dignified movement of the rite. Although the King had already sworn fealty to the Church of England, and was about to exhibit his faith in the most solemn manner possible by publicly receiving Communion at the hands of its ministers, he was still required by Act of Parliament to declare himself "a faithful Protestant" in a statutory form of words. King George V was spared this formality, having already made the declaration at the opening of Parliament, but no such opportunity having occurred in the new reign, his son, sitting again in his Chair of Estate, now duly made the declaration.

King and people had now bound themselves to one another, and it was time for the ceremony to be lifted from the contractual to the sacramental level. The Communion service began with the singing of the lovely introit :—

Let my prayer come up into Thy presence as the incense : and let the lifting up of my hands be as an evening sacrifice.

The Archbishop having offered up in the collect a prayer for the spirit of wisdom and government to be bestowed on God's servant George our King, the Bishop of London read as Epistle the admonition of St. Peter to " Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the King." The Gospel, read by the Archbishop of York, was the famous passage in St. Matthew bidding men " Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's ; and unto God the things that are God's." It has stood unchanged in the Coronation Service since the first of which we have record, that of King Edgar the Peaceful in 973.

After the Nicene Creed, since the usual sermon was omitted, the Communion Service was intermittent for the special rites of the day. They began with the personal consecration of the King, introduced by the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*. While it was being sung the King knelt in prayer at his faldstool, for the most solemn moment of the whole great solemnity was near. The Archbishop laid his hand on the Ampulla—the little golden eagle in which the oil of anointing is contained—and prayed for the King to be filled with the spirit of wisdom and government, the spirit of counsel and ghostly strength, the spirit of knowledge and true godliness, and the spirit of

God's holy fear. Then the choir burst into the jubilant antiphon "Zadok the priest," the *Unxerunt Salomonem* of King Edgar's rite, but set now to the triumphal music composed by Handel for the coronation of George III.

While the strains of this great anthem soared and echoed in the vault the King had risen from his faldstool. The Lord Great Chamberlain took from him the great Parliament robe of crimson velvet, stripping him of the trappings of earthly majesty that he might receive in Christian humility the emblems of a more than earthly state. Three of the King's scarlet-coated pages retreated backwards with the gorgeous vestment to the north side of the sacrarium ; the others remained on the steps below the Throne, where all the nine found their place whenever the ceremony left them temporarily disengaged. They, alone of the congregation, remained seated even during the Creed, and when all were in place their scarlet streak was the most vivid line of colour in the whole rainbow-hued scene. The King doffed the Cap of Estate, once, it is believed, the ducal cap of Normandy ; for in the medieval rite the rubrics up to this point speak only of the Duke, and not till the holy chrism has touched him do they call him King. Then, clothed in the simple undergarment of crimson satin, falling to the knee, the King took his seat for the first time in King Edward's Chair.

Now came the four Knights of the Garter—the Marquess of Londonderry, the Duke of Abercorn, the Earl of Lytton, and Earl Stanhope—in the sweeping blue velvet of their Order, and held aloft the canopy of cloth of gold over the King's head. In other ages this canopy was so made as to conceal the King entirely from view ; for the unction is a mystery, not lightly to be revealed to the common gaze. On this occasion, however, it was held high, as the Archbishop and the Dean came down from the altar and stood before the King.

The Dean poured oil from the golden eagle's beak into the silver-gilt spoon, which, though not the original spoon of anointing, is the only piece of the Regalia surviving from before the Restoration ; and the Archbishop, dipping his fingers in the oil, with deep solemnity of gesture and

utterance, anointed the King on the four places appointed by the rubrics—on the palms of both hands, on the breast, previously laid bare by the unlacing of the openings in the silken shirt, and finally on the crown of the head. “And as Solomon was anointed king by Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet, so be you anointed, blessed, and consecrated King over the Peoples, whom the Lord your God hath given you to rule and govern.” So endowed with all the mystical graces that the Church can offer for the sanctification of secular power, but clothed only in the humble simplicity of white shirt and breeches, King George VI advanced from under the Canopy, a curiously slight and modest figure, and knelt at the faldstool to receive from the Archbishop the solemn benedictions of an anointed King.

Thus consecrated and set apart for his high destiny, the King was now qualified to wear the robes and handle the emblems that represent the lost relics of St. Edward. First the Dean of Westminster arrayed him in two garments so closely suggestive of ecclesiastical vestments that at one time they were cited as evidence that an anointed King partook of the priestly character. The first, the *Colobium Sindonis*, is a kind of sleeveless dalmatic; the supertunica, or close pall, is a gorgeous garment of cloth of gold, like a Bishop’s tunicle.

Having received these standing in front of King Edward’s Chair, together with a golden girdle to serve as sword-belt later in the ceremony, the King resumed his seat, to be invested with the insignia of the knightly vocation, which is a necessary part of Christian kingship. The Lord Great Chamberlain took the Golden Spurs of chivalry from the Dean and, on his knees, touched the King’s heels lightly with them and returned them to the altar.

Then came the complicated ceremony of girding the King with the sword. The sword used is, in theory, the Sword of State; but this mighty weapon is much too large to be girt upon any mortal thigh. At this point accordingly Lord Zetland, who bore the Sword of State, handed it to the Lord Chamberlain, and received in return a less

unwieldy weapon, in a scabbard described in the rubrics of centuries as of purple velvet, but seeming to the non-liturgical eye to be bright gold. The Sword of State having been rather ignominiously huddled away into St. Edward's Chapel, there to remain concealed till the end of the ceremony, the Archbishop took the "purple" sword from the Lord Chamberlain and laid it upon the altar to be blessed. Then, with his brother of York and a group of senior Bishops at his side, he came down and delivered the sword into the King's right hand—the Church confiding temporal power to the hand of the State ; and as the Lord Great Chamberlain buckled the sword to the golden girdle, the Archbishop admonished the King to "do justice, stop the growth of iniquity, protect the holy Church of God." With equally noble symbolism the King then ungirt the sword with his own hands, advanced to the altar, looking now like a moving statue of gold, and there rendered it back into God's keeping.

But this was not the end of the proceedings with the sword. The purple sword is not, like the Sword of State, which it represents, part of the Great Regalia and so a relic, but the temporal property of the King ; accordingly Lord Zetland now came forward and tendered at the altar the price of its redemption—100s. in a velvet bag. The Dean returned the sword, which Lord Zetland carried back to his place beside the King, where he drew it and flashed the blade aloft, and from this point he carried it upright alongside Curtana and the two Swords of Justice for the remainder of the service.

The investiture now began to move more swiftly. Robes and emblems crowded upon the King—the golden stole or armill, then the huge cope-like Robe Royal, of cloth of gold embroidered with eagles, which symbolizes dominion in the four quarters of the earth. The Orb was placed in his hands by the Archbishop, but had to be immediately given up to the Dean in order to leave the King's hands free to receive the emblems yet to come.

The first of these, the Ring, emblematic of kingly dignity and defence of the Catholic Faith, was put on by

the Archbishop, and then Lord Lincoln stepped forward and knelt at the King's feet. He was conspicuous among the velvet-clad peers by his Air Force uniform, being in his own person a commoner and present only as deputy for his father, the Duke of Newcastle, who, in his capacity of Lord of the Manor of Worksop, is the only tenant in serjeanty privileged to render in the Abbey itself the ancient service due for his lands. This service Lord Lincoln now rendered by fitting on the King's right hand, which was to receive the chief sceptre, a glove richly embroidered with the Duke of Newcastle's arms. Immediately he had withdrawn the Archbishop was again standing before the King, with a golden rod in each hand, which he delivered to the King with a single admonition covering both ; for kingly power and justice, which are symbolized by the Sceptre with the Cross, must be inseparably wedded to Equity and Mercy, of which the Sceptre with the Dove is the token.

Be so merciful (said the Archbishop) that you be not too remiss ; so execute justice that you forget not mercy. Punish the wicked, protect and cherish the just, and lead your people in the way wherein they should go.

Pages in many-coloured coats of eighteenth-century cut now filed out from behind the Royal Box, bringing the coronets to the lords having duties about the King. The investiture was approaching its climax. The King had been received into the historic succession of the Lord's Anointed ; he had been admonished of all his Royal duties, he bore in his hands or wore upon his body all the insignia of his authority and power. One thing remained, which is beyond authority—the glory that is the reward of power worthily exercised. Its symbol is the Crown, and a breathless hush fell upon the entire concourse as the Archbishop lifted the glowing emblem for a moment from the altar and the King, still sitting in the Coronation Chair, bowed his head to await the moment. The Archbishop prayed :

O God, the crown of the faithful : Bless we beseech Thee and sanctify this Thy servant **GEORGE** our King : and as Thou dost this day set a Crown of pure gold upon his head, so enrich his royal heart with Thine abundant grace, and crown him with all princely virtues, through the King Eternal Jesus Christ Our Lord.

Slowly, with grave and reverent dignity, the Archbishop turned from the altar, a little group of prelates accompanying him, and the Dean carrying the Crown on its velvet cushion in the midst, and paced back towards the Chair. They passed the Queen, still sitting motionless among her ladies in her Chair of Estate, and stood before the King. For a moment the golden copes of the First Estate paused, confronting the crimson and minever of the Second, with the King sitting bowed and still between the two lines. Then the Archbishop, half turning towards the Dean, who stood at his left side, raised the Crown aloft with both hands and lowered it till it rested on King George's head.

With staccato precision the shout of the Westminster Scholars went up : "God Save the King," to be quickly drowned in the more irregular, but not less enthusiastic, cry of thousands of voices throughout the Abbey. Soaring over these sounds the notes of silver trumpets went echoing aloft and seemed to hang like a canopy of sound under the vault, while the serried crimson and white ranks in the south transept became tipped with gold as all the hundreds of peers put on their coronets and the Kings of Arms their heraldic crowns. From far away, as the loyal tumult subsided, could be heard, faint and muffled by the stone walls, the pealing of bells outside, and a keen ear might detect a booming note in the distance as the great guns of the Tower began to fire their salute.

Then the Archbishop spoke again to the King :

GOD crown you with a crown of glory and righteousness, that by the ministry of this our benediction, having a right faith and manifold fruit of good works, you may obtain the crown of an everlasting kingdom by the gift of Him whose Kingdom endureth for ever.

Thereupon the choir broke into the Antiphon *Confortare*, another of the oldest parts of the Coronation rite :

BE strong and play the man : keep the Commandments of the Lord thy God, and walk in His ways.

The presenting of the Bible, which followed, was an inspiring piece of symbolism. The King gave up both his sceptres temporarily to the lords on his right and left. Having received it for a moment from the Archbishop as "the most valuable thing that this world

affords," he immediately gave it back, to be carried again to the altar by the Dean, and resumed his sceptres, while the group of Bishops who had gathered about him for the crowning dispersed to their places.

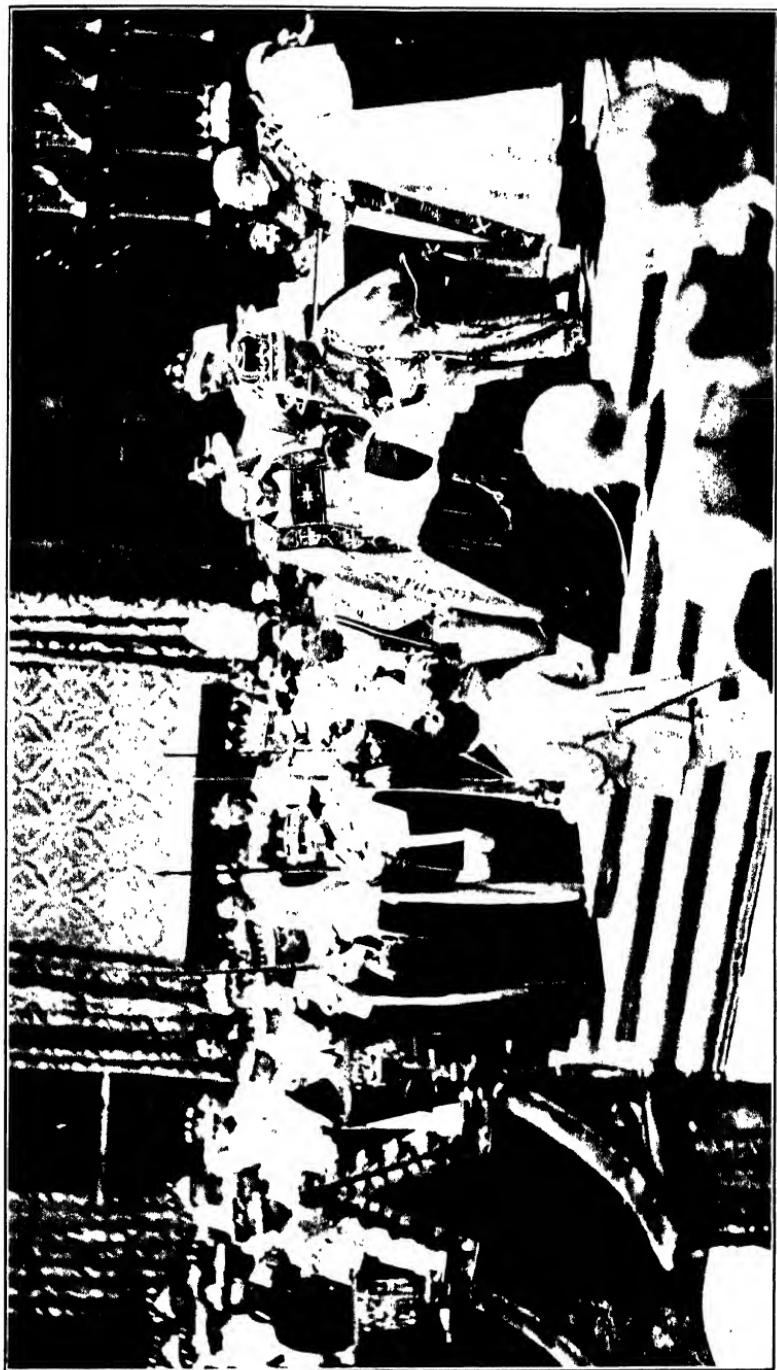
The Archbishop took his stand facing the King at a distance of several paces, while a mulberry-cloaked chaplain brought him his Primatial Cross. With deep solemnity, holding this impressive emblem in his left hand and uplifting his right, he pronounced the words of the chief and most comprehensive benediction, first upon the King, praying for his earthly prosperity and eternal felicity, for fruitful lands and healthful seasons, for victorious fleets and armies and a quiet Empire ; and then upon "the Clergy and Nobles assembled here for this great and solemn Service, and together with them all the People of the land, fearing God and honouring the King."

The moment now approaching, though in modern times eclipsed by the spectacular glory of the imposition of the Crown, is, according to the structure of the rite, its secular climax, just as the unction is its supreme sacramental exaltation. The group of high dignitaries round the King divided and moved processional back towards the five-stepped dais on which stood the Throne. The nine pages took position behind him, but the train of the Robe Royal was not long enough to require their support.

The four swords were carried naked before the King as, surrounded by the chief Bishops, he passed across the Theatre and ascended the five steps. As he reached the top and turned again to face the altar the Archbishop, the Earl Marshal, and other dignitaries placed their hands under his arms and so, with the emblematic power of Church and State, "lifted" him into his Throne.

Thus, with the Crown on his head and all the emblems of his sovereignty upon him, George VI took possession of his Kingdom, while the Archbishop, standing at the foot of the steps, exhorted him with the famous and ancient address *Sta et Retine* :

STAND firm, and hold fast from henceforth the seat and state of royal
and imperial dignity . . . And the Lord God Almighty whose
ministers we are, and the stewards of His mysteries, establish your



THE HOMAGE
The King, after his crowning and enthronement, receiving the Homage of the Peers



THE ROYAL GALLERY AT THE CORONATION SERVICE
Queen Mary with Princess Elizabeth, Princess Margaret, the Queen of Norway,
the Princess Royal, the Duchess of Gloucester, and the Duchess of Kent



ALTAR FRONTAL

used for the first time in the Chapel of St. Edward, Westminster Abbey, on the day of the Coronation. It was designed by Mr. W. H. R. Blacking, F.R.I.B.A., and worked by J. Wippell and Co.

THE CROWNING OF GEORGE VI

Throne in righteousness, that it may stand fast for evermore, like as the sun before Him, and as the faithful witness in heaven. *Amen.*

So ended the Coronation of King George VI. The King sat enthroned, a splendid figure, against the rich background of crimson velvet made by the robes of the throng of great personages surrounding him. It remained for him to receive from his lords spiritual and temporal the acknowledgment of their duty to uphold his Throne.

First of all the Archbishop, still standing where he had stood to deliver the final exhortation, fell to his knees, all the other prelates kneeling in their places, and spoke the words of fealty, that he and all the Bishops would bear faith and truth to their Sovereign Lord, and perform the service of the lands which they claimed to hold of the King "as in right of the Church." Then rising, he ascended the steps of the Throne and bent over the seated figure of the King to kiss his left cheek.

After the Bishops came the temporal lords to render, not fealty like their spiritual brethren, but the more unconditional vow of homage, each promising to "become your liege man of life and limb, and of earthly worship," and to bear faith and truth unto the King, to live and die, against all manner of folks.

First came the Duke of Gloucester for the Princes of the Blood Royal. He left his seat on the right of the Throne, took off his coronet, which he handed to a white-clad page at the foot of the steps, and ascended to place his hands between those of his brother the King, while he spoke the words of the vow in a clear and resonant voice. The Duke then rose, kissed the King as the Archbishop had done, and stretched out his right hand to touch the Crown "as promising for himself and his order to be ever ready to support it with all his power."

Then, with great dignity and skilled mastery of his heavy robes, he descended the steps without turning his back to the King, resumed his coronet, and returned to his seat. After him came the Duke of Kent, and then the senior of each rank of the peerage. As the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquess of Huntly, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Viscount Hereford, and Lord Mowbray, each for his own order, did

homage in the same form, the members of each order in turn knelt bareheaded in their places. Since the choir were singing a series of anthems throughout the ceremony the words of homage were audible only in the immediate vicinity of the King.

Then there was a roll of drums, a fanfare of trumpets, and the Westminster Scholars again led the congregation in the threefold Biblical salute :

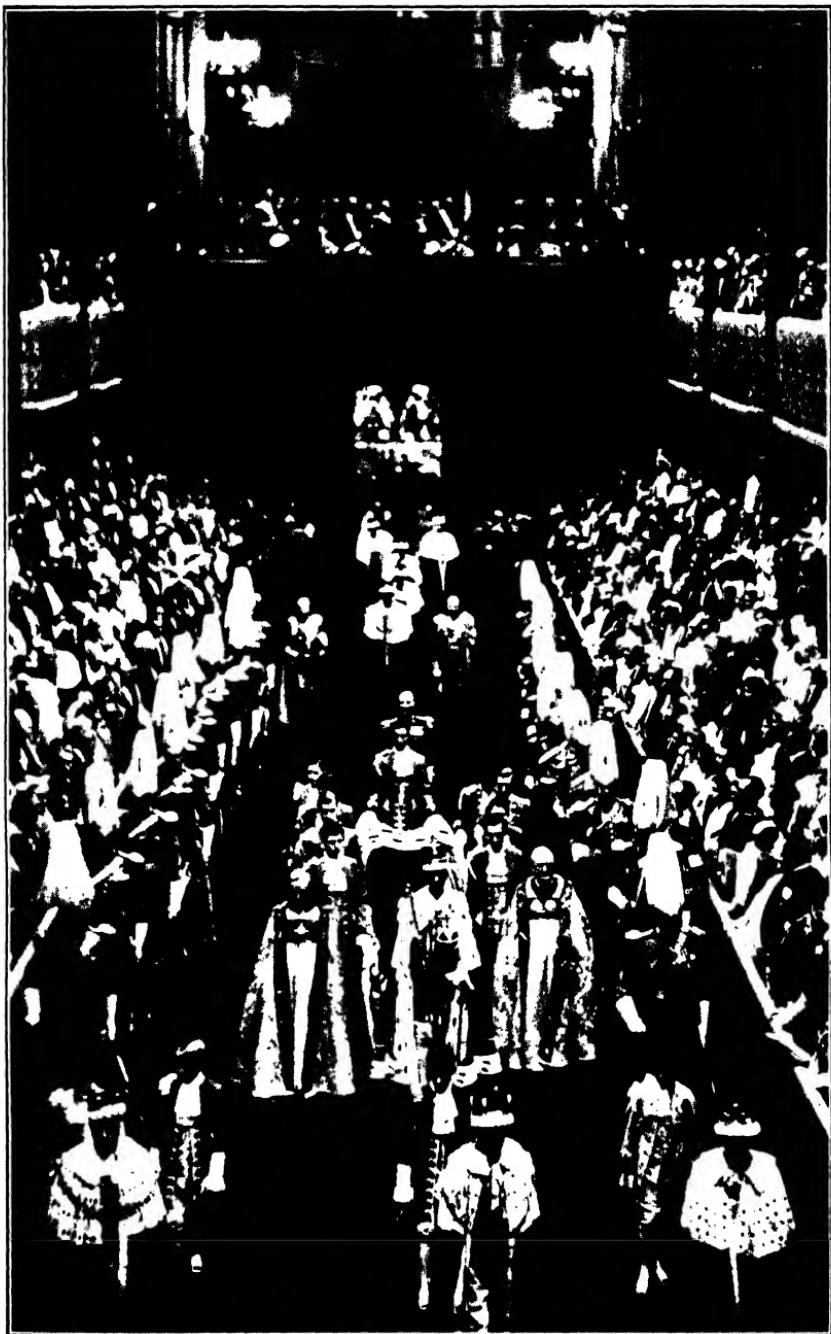
God Save King George !
Long Live King George !
May the King live for ever !

The shouts of the people died away as the Archbishop proceeded to the altar before which the Queen was to be anointed and crowned. Now all movement was in the Sanctuary. Behind the enthroned King the great officers of State remained standing, encrusting the steps of the dais with crimson. The Queen, rising from the Chair of Estate and supported by the Mistress of the Robes and the train-bearers, advanced to the faldstool at the altar steps. There she knelt while the Archbishop said the prayer:—

ALMIGHTY God, the fountain of all goodness : Give ear, we beseech thee, to our prayers, and multiply thy blessings upon this thy servant ELIZABETH, whom in thy Name, with all humble devotion, we consecrate our Queen ; defend her evermore from all dangers, ghostly and bodily ; make her a great example of virtue and piety, and a blessing to the kingdom ; through Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee, O Father, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, world without end. *Amen.*

The Queen then moved to another faldstool which was set between the altar and King Edward's Chair. To this place the Chapter, summoned by Garter King, brought the golden pall which had canopied the King. Its four staves were taken by the Duchess of Norfolk, the Duchess of Rutland, the Duchess of Buccleuch, and the Duchess of Roxburghe, who passed the pall over the bending forms of the ladies who held the Royal train until the kneeling Queen was beneath it.

The Archbishop, receiving from the Dean the holy oil poured from the ampulla into the spoon, anointed her on the head, saying :—



THE KING, CROWNED AND CARRYING THE ORB AND SCEPTRE,
AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE CEREMONY



THE QUEEN, CARRYING THE SCEPTRE WITH THE CROWN
AND THE IVORY ROD WITH THE DOVE, LEAVING THE ABBEY

THE CROWNING OF GEORGE VI

IN the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost : Let the anointing with this Oil increase your honour, and the grace of God's Holy Spirit establish you, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

From the Acting Keeper of the Jewel House the Archbishop received the Queen's Ring and placed it upon the fourth finger of the right hand, pronouncing this prayer :—

RECEIVE this Ring, the seal of a sincere faith ; and God, to whom Belongeth all power and dignity, prosper you in this your honour, and grant you therein long to continue, fearing him always, and always doing such things as shall please him, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

The canopy was removed while the Queen still knelt. She was now ready to be crowned. As the Primate lifted the Crown from the altar the greatest of its jewels, the Koh-i-Noor diamond, flashed back the light. When he set the Crown reverently upon her Majesty's head he did so with these words :—

RECEIVE the Crown of glory, honour, and joy : And God, the crown of the faithful, who by our Episcopal hands (though unworthy) doth this day set a crown of pure gold upon your head, enrich your royal heart with his abundant grace, and crown you with all princely virtues in this life, and with everlasting gladness in the life that is to come, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then, and not till then, were the peeresses privileged to complete the beauty of the scene, their white arms and capes rising like swans from a crimson lake as with one movement they put on their coronets.

The Archbishop placed the sceptre into the Queen's right hand and the Ivory Rod with the Dove into her left hand, saying this prayer :—

OLORD, the giver of all perfection : Grant unto this thy servant ELIZABETH our Queen, that by the powerful and mild influence of her piety and virtue, she may adorn the high dignity which she hath obtained, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

The Queen, being thus anointed and crowned, left the faldstool and, passing with her retinue across the sacrarium, she made obeisance to the King high above her on his Throne, all who followed bowing with her, a graceful sight, like flowers swayed by a gentle wind. Then ascending the steps of the dais while the music surged triumphantly, she came to her Throne, and for a brief

space of time the congregation saw the King and Queen sitting side by side, crowned, sceptred, and enthroned. To this historic picture the golden light falling from the high lamps lent abiding beauty.

The Holy Communion, the opening portion of which followed the Recognition, was now resumed. While the choir sang the offertory, "O hearken thou unto the voice of my calling, my King and my God," Their Majesties, having delivered their Sceptres to the lords who had previously borne them—the Duke of Somerset and the Duke of Rutland—descended from their Thrones and passed up the sanctuary to faldstools at the steps of the altar. Here they removed their Crowns and knelt. The paten and the chalice were delivered into the King's hands and were placed on the altar and covered by the Archbishop.

The King, still kneeling, made his oblation, offering an altar cloth and an ingot of gold of a pound weight. Afterwards, the Queen's oblation of an altar cloth and a mark weight of gold having been made, Their Majesties returned to their Chairs of Estate and knelt at faldstools. When the Archbishop and the Dean and the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London had communicated, the Archbishop administered the Bread and the Dean the Cup to the King and Queen.

For the Post Communion the King and Queen returned to their Thrones on the dais and received their Crowns and Sceptres from the officers who were holding them. The *Gloria in Excelsis* was sung to the fine festival setting in B flat for choir and orchestra which Sir Charles Stanford wrote for the Coronation of King George V. As it ended the Archbishop, his cross in his left hand, was seen standing on the altar steps, ready to give the Benediction, which the King and Queen knelt to receive. A trumpet flourish and the Abbey resounded with the *Te Deum* sung in the setting written by Dr. Vaughan Williams for the conclusion of the ceremony.

Before the exultant strains had died in a cadence of quiet loveliness the living tide of pomp had begun to turn. Their Majesties rose from their Thrones, and, the King

between his two Bishops, and the Queen between her two Bishops, swept, a gleaming line of gold, across the sacrarium. Before the altar the line divided, the short but memorable procession passing by north and south choirs into St. Edward's Chapel. There the King delivered the Sceptre with the Dove to the Archbishop, who laid it upon the altar, and the Dean received from the peers who carried them the Orb, the Golden Spurs, and St. Edward's Staff.

Then came about a scene in which casualness and magnificence were oddly mingled. Many attendants upon the King and Queen waited in the Theatre for their return, and the effect as they grouped themselves was of stained glass from which the little islanding beads had been removed suddenly. The Yeomen of the Guard entered the choir straitly to border the deep blue processional way. Presently the Canons of Westminster issued in procession from the Chapel. They passed down to the nave, and after them into view came the crosses of York and Canterbury borne before the Archbishops.

The trumpeters sounded a fanfare and all at once from the confusion of the Theatre there disengaged itself a movement as splendid and ordered as any that had gone before. Peers in their mantles and robes, heralds in their tabards, pages in the livery of their masters crossed the Theatre and spread the choir with processional glory, and the Queen appeared surrounded with all the magnificence of her coming three hours before but now crowned and bearing her Sceptre and Ivory Rod with the Dove. She showed no trace of fatigue after the long ceremony and smiled happily as the Westminster boys sent their cheers ringing through the Abbey.

Music, colour, and movement all reached a *crescendo* together as the King came into the Theatre. He had exchanged his Coronation robes for the robe of purple velvet with its noble train, borne by eight pages and a peer. On his head he wore the Imperial Crown, ablaze with rubies, diamonds, and sapphires, the Black Prince's ruby in the foremost cross, the Star of Africa beneath it, Edward the Confessor's sapphire in the cross on the summit, and

CROWN AND EMPIRE

Cardinal York's sapphire at the back. He held the Sceptre and the Orb. With upright bearing and grave dignity in the midst of this noble company he moved slowly through the glittering congregation and out of sight. Drums and trumpets and violins, in deep crashing chords, superbly uttered the cheers that were on everybody's lips ; and before the Queens and nobility who followed in the King's train had yet reached the nave the muted echoes of jubilant acclamation, which had diversified the harmony of preparation, were heard again.



MUSIC OF THE CORONATION

BY H. C. COLLES

THE music of English Coronations has been a much more variable quantity than either the liturgy or ceremonial. There was no music in the present Coronation Service which could claim an immemorial association with the rite. Actually Handel's anthem, "Zadok the Priest," one of the four which he composed for the Coronation of George II (1727), has the longest unbroken tradition, since the Coronation of King George VI was the eighth in succession at which it has been performed during the anointing of the King.

But its words go back to Saxon times as those of the antiphon proper to the anointing, and we possess the contemporary plainsong melody to which the antiphon was sung. Before Handel others had set the words as an anthem, notably Henry Lawes for the Coronation of Charles II, and it was from the time of the Restoration of the Monarchy that the practice of eminent composers of the day contributing new compositions to the words of the liturgy became a feature of the Coronations.

Here it may be remarked that no musical office either of the Crown or of the Abbey gives the holder any right either to compose for or perform at Coronations. The Archbishop of Canterbury is solely responsible for the ordering of every detail contributing to the due performance of the Divine Service, and the musicians are appointed at his discretion in every case. In this case the Archbishop charged Dr. Ernest Bullock, the present organist of the Abbey, to choose the music in consultation with Sir Walford Davies, Master of the King's Musick, and put all arrangements for the engagement of musicians as well as the responsibility of conducting their perfor-

mance in the hands of Dr. Bullock. This confidence was abundantly justified in results. Dr. Bullock devoted months of unremitting thought and care to perfecting every detail of the musical arrangements. He composed the fanfares required by the ceremonial, and it was generally agreed that they gave exactly what the occasion called for, brief outbursts of stately jubilation. Ultimately he conducted the whole of the service music with an assurance which secured a most impressive rendering of the music in every respect worthy of its purpose.

The musical forces employed were a large choir of men and boys with orchestra and organ. The choir included that of the Abbey, the Chapel Royal, St. George's, Windsor, St. Paul's Cathedral, the Temple Church, with singers from other cathedral and collegiate churches, certain parish churches of London, and boys from St. Nicolas College of Church Music. There were, further, some forty men and women singers from the Dominions. The orchestra, led by Mr. W. H. Reed, was drawn from the principal symphony orchestras of London. The new organ, built by Messrs. Harrison, was used in its completeness for the first time, and played by three organists, Sir Walter Alcock, of Salisbury, who thus has participated in three Coronations, Dr. O. Peasgood, assistant organist of the Abbey, and Dr. Henry Ley, Precentor of Eton.

Among minor officials who contributed to the efficiency of the musical organization were Dr. S. H. Nicholson, who acted as honorary choir secretary, and Mr. E. Cruft, who served in a similar capacity for the orchestra; Mr. John Dykes Bower, of St. Paul's Cathedral, and Dr. W. H. Harris were subconductors for those portions of the choir who were out of sight of Dr. Bullock; Dr. Thornton Lofthouse had charge of the Westminster Scholars, who hailed the King and Queen with their "Vivats"; and Major H. E. Adkins directed the trumpeters from the Royal Military School of Music (Kneller Hall) in the fanfares. Dr. Stanley Roper, Organist of the Chapel Royal, who was to have conducted the Litany in procession, was prevented by illness at the last moment, so this important duty Dr. Bullock had to take on himself. Fortunately the assistance of Sir Adrian Boult as conductor



SIR WALFORD DAVIES
Musical Critic



DR. ERNEST BULLOCK
Ornithologist



DR. HENRY FLY



SIR WALTER ALCOCK



SIR ADRIAN BOULT



DR. O. PLASGOOD

MUSIC OF THE CORONATION

of some of the preliminary orchestral music had been secured. Otherwise it would scarcely have been possible for Dr. Bullock to leave his post in the organ loft in order to lead the procession.

The first stage of arrivals over, conversation ceased, and there was a feeling of heightened expectation among the guests in the Abbey. Then the first notes of music were heard on the trumpets—not a fanfare, of which there were many to come, but the theme of a concerto in D by Handel, in which the new organ had a prominent solo part and its magnificent tones were finely displayed by Dr. O. Peasgood.

No more noble introduction to the musical ceremonies could have been devised. Handel, who more than any other great composer gauged the spirit of the British race in his music, who endowed a Coronation of over 200 years ago with immortal anthems, one of which was presently to be heard, and whose dust rests in the Poet's Corner, where now the seats of the Peers rose tier above tier, was fittingly the first herald of the solemnity. And Handel seems to have been specially prominent in the minds of those who arranged this preliminary music, for several times during the two hours following the concerto, whenever there was a little time to be filled in, a well-known tune by Handel, minuet or gavotte, was insinuated into the scheme with the happiest effect. After the concerto came the vigorous Marching Song for orchestra by Gustav Holst, during which the first procession of members of the Royal Family made entry.

It had been planned that the orchestral music which should accompany the arrival of Royal guests and representatives of foreign Powers should be of a cosmopolitan character, and Saint-Saëns's Military March from his "Algerian Suite," Moussorgsky's exotic sounding prelude to the opera *Khovantchina*, with the addition of a delicate little lute piece by an unknown composer of the long past (sixteenth century), lightly scored for strings by Respighi, seemed the right counterpart to the varied uniforms and costumes which filled the arena of the nave with colour as these processions advanced in their slow and dignified progress.

Direction of this part of the programme was in the experienced hands of Sir Adrian Boult, and, the foreign representatives having all passed to their places during the works above mentioned, the music was continued with Schubert's lovely melody in B flat from *Rosamunde*, the finale of Brahms's First Symphony, and the slow movement from the Third Symphony of Arnold Bax, whose eminence as a composer had been acknowledged in the Honours List. Here was music to be listened to, and though not every one was listening, for there was a moment of relaxation after the preliminary ceremonies, it provided a suitable relief from the tension of what had preceded it, and an opportunity for reflection for such as had a mind to reflect. Indeed, Brahms's Finale, which begins with a melody inevitably recalling the Westminster Chimes to every Londoner, had a peculiar appropriateness here. Once more there was an opportunity of appreciating the fine qualities of the new organ in Bach's Prelude in C minor, which Dr. Peasgood played immediately after Bax's orchestral slow movement.

The whole mood was changed, and the dazzling splendours of the world were distanced by the remote singing of an introductory hymn and the beginning of the Litany before the altar, sung to Tallis's ethereal music. The choirs of the Chapel Royal (the boys in their traditional scarlet uniforms) and of Westminster Abbey came in procession from the altar to the West Door, singing the Litany as they came and followed by the Dean and Prebendaries bearing the Regalia to be received by Peers Spiritual and Temporal who presently returned in solemn procession before the arrival of the Royal Princesses. The orchestra resumed with a dignified piece, "Canticum Fidei," by T. F. Dunhill, a stirring work called "The King's Herald," by Herbert Howells, and the inspiring Finale to the "Enigma" Variations, by Elgar.

Thenceforward attention became concentrated on the arrival of individuals, their progress up the nave accompanied by one orchestral march after another. There was the gentleness of Grieg for the procession of the Royal Princesses in which the Princess Royal, with Princess Elizabeth on her right and Princess Margaret on her left,

was followed by the Duchess of Gloucester and the Duchess of Kent. A short pause, and the more demonstrative melody of Edward German's Coronation March burst out as the procession of Queen Mary, preceded by the Queen of Norway, passed through the West Door. William Walton's new "Coronation March," with its more stringent harmonies and brilliant orchestral display, rounded off the period of Royal arrivals with imposing effect.

There was then some delay. More Handel and a fine trumpet tune from Purcell's *Dioclesian* were interpolated before Elgar's spirited Imperial March seemed to announce the climax. Still the climax was not reached, and there was a considerable period for organ improvisation as the fore part of the long procession of dignitaries, ecclesiastical and civil, slowly proceeded up the nave. The march was resumed as the standards of the Dominions were borne in before the Royal Standard. The High Officers of the Household, the four Knights of the Garter appointed to hold the canopy for the King's anointing, the Prime Minister and the Prime Ministers of the Dominions entered, and then the march ceased as the Crosses of York and Canterbury, carried before the two Archbishops, came in sight.

The anthem "I was glad when they said unto me: We will go into the house of the Lord" is the traditional greeting to the Sovereign when he comes to the Abbey to be anointed and crowned. Hubert Parry's majestic music to it was first composed for King Edward VII's Coronation, and was revised for that of King George V. The full choir ranged on both sides beside and partially behind the organ gave the most majestic effect to the opening words.

The greeting came in a flood of rich tone leading up to that thrilling moment when the Queen is sighted by the scholars of Westminster and their raw young voices interrupt the polyphony with a brave recitative, "Vivat Regina," to be followed as the King appears with "Vivat Rex." The timing of these recitatives must have been a difficulty, but they arrived with remarkable punctuality

and with almost the air of an unpremeditated and spontaneous outburst. Moreover, the final prayer for "plenteousness within thy palaces," the climax of Parry's music, came just as the King passed through the choir screen and ascended the steps to the Theatre for the beginning of the ceremony. The piling up of voices and of orchestra was at once the culminating point of all the preliminaries of assembly and a noble introduction to the solemnity. After it there came a silence which could be felt while the King and Queen, kneeling at their faldstools, were occupied with those "short private prayers" prescribed for their use.

The Recognition had for musical accompaniment only the fanfare of trumpets. After the administration of the Oath the Archbishop proceeded at once with the Communion Service begun with the Introit, "Let my prayer come up into Thy presence as the incense." This was the first of several new works written by composers of to-day for the occasion. In Sir Edward Elgar's music the upper voices (treble and alto) alone sing these words, rising in an ethereal phrase of four-part harmony, the whole choir joining in the second part of the verse.

Nothing is more characteristic of the modern outlook than the revival of that finest period of English music which flourished beside the poetry of Edmund Spenser and the drama of Shakespeare, and is collectively known as "Tudor music." The important place given to such music was what most distinguished the Coronation Service of King George VI from that of his father and grandfather. Incidentally it meant that a considerable part of this service was sung by the choir without instrumental accompaniment, and that gave much more tonal variety and also heightened the effect of the orchestra when it re-entered. William Byrd (1543-1623) was the supreme master of that era, and his church music was composed with fine impartiality both for the Latin and the English rites. Both were represented here, in the Creed taken from his "Short Service" for English cathedral use, and the "Sanctus" from his Latin Mass for five voices. Both are splendid specimens of a style which is at once grand in conception and concise in statement, but above all sensitive to the meaning of the words.

MUSIC OF THE CORONATION

Byrd's two works were separated, however, by a wide interval, since all the ceremonies of the Anointing, the Investiture, the Crowning, the Inthronization, the Homage, and the Coronation of the Queen intervened. Music took a prominent part in three of these, and was used to emphasize their paramount importance. They were the Anointing and Crowning of the King and the Homage paid to him by the Lords Spiritual, the Princes of the Blood, and the Peers.

The Anointing was begun by the singing of the ancient hymn "Veni Creator Spiritus" in the form in which it appears as "Come Holy Ghost, our souls inspire" in the Ordination Service of the English Prayer-book. For the last two Coronations the contemporary plainsong melody has been used, but this one restored a purer form of the melody beautifully arranged for voices beginning unaccompanied, the instruments joining in the last verse. Handel's anthem "Zadok the priest" concluded this ceremony with jubilant acclamation. Later, when the Archbishop had placed the crown on the King's head, the people again acclaimed him with cries of "God save the King," the trumpets sounded, and after the Archbishop had delivered his charge, "Be strong and of a good courage," an orchestral phrase welled up and culminated in the words of the "Confortare," led by bass voices, "Be strong and play the man." This was appropriately the contribution of Sir Walford Davies, Master of the King's Musick.

The act of Homage is the part of the ceremony most difficult to time accurately beforehand. The anthem written by Sir Frederick Bridge for the last Coronation proved to be too short. It was thought better, therefore, to arrange a programme of six short pieces, any one of which might be omitted if necessary. Actually only four, the first two and the last two, were sung. The scheme as originally prepared was as follows:—

"O come ye servants of the Lord," Christopher Tye
(c. 1500-1573).

"Hear my prayer," Henry Purcell (1658-1695).

"O clap your hands together," Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625).

"All the ends of the world," William Boyce (1710-1779).

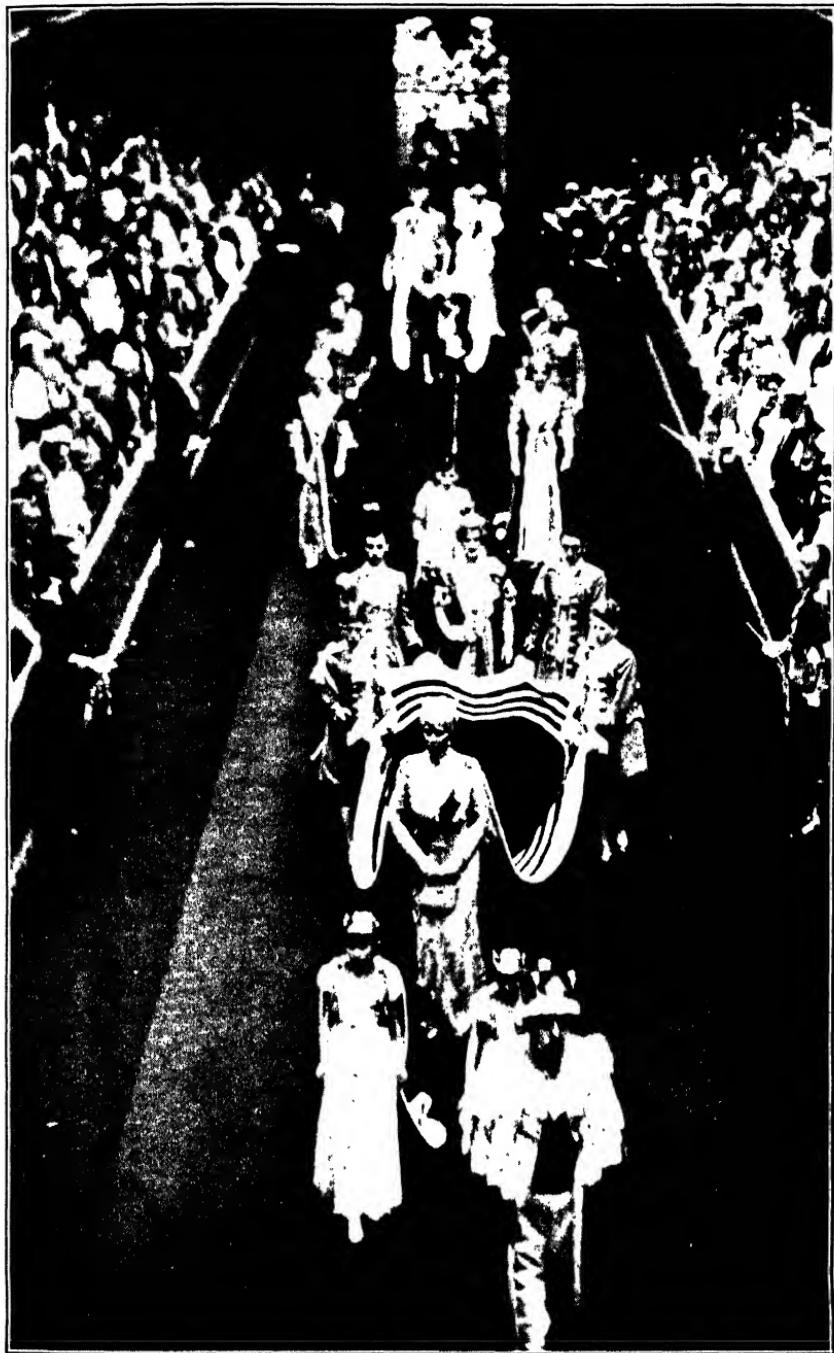
"O praise God in His holiness," George Dyson (1883-).

"Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace," Samuel Sebastian Wesley (1810-1876).

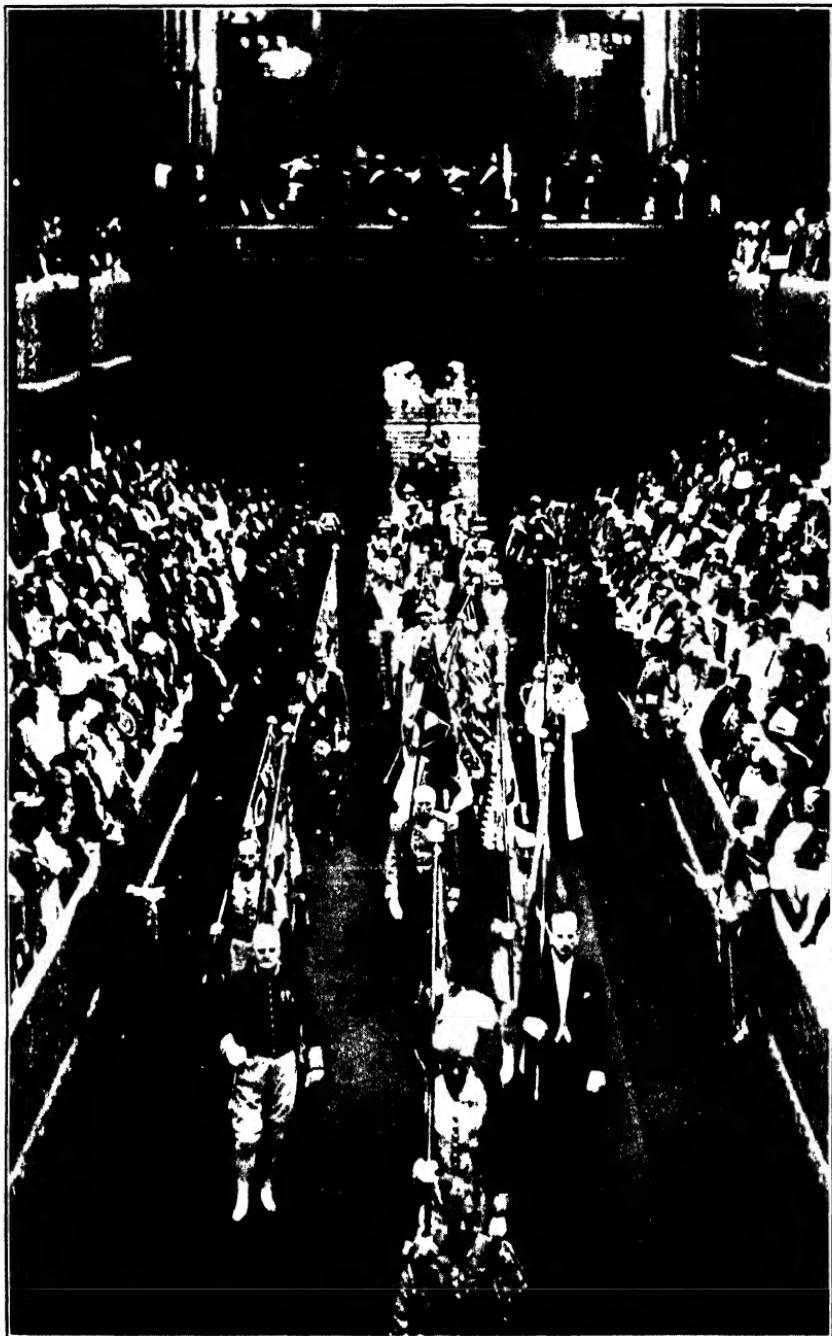
The dates show how the compositions bridge the centuries from the Tudor era to the present day. That, no doubt, was deliberate, but they were not arranged chronologically, because the object was to diversify the feeling, to begin and end with the theme of devotion and to include that of rejoicing in the works of Gibbons and Dr. Dyson. This last is probably the most closely concentrated setting of Psalm cl ever written. A short orchestral prelude leads up to the exuberant entry of the voices. The clauses are thrown to and fro between lower and upper voices in an overlapping antiphony, and a bold climax is quickly reached in the words, "Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord." After it Wesley's serene "Thou wilt keep him," the organ part scored for orchestra, returned to the traditional sobriety of the church music style.

After the Queen's Coronation Dr. Harris's reflective offertorium "O hearken Thou" took a place similar to that of the introit in making the return to the Communion service, and did so with rich and beautiful choral harmonies which reminded one not a little (and the reminiscence is all to his credit) of Elgar's use of emotional choral harmony. Thereafter, save for a few necessary choral responses and the beautiful Sanctus from Byrd's five-voiced Mass the Communion proceeded in the spoken voice of the Archbishop, who was also the celebrant.

There came a complete silence so far as the congregation in the nave was concerned, since the amplifiers by which every spoken word had been made clearly audible to them, were switched off during the Consecration and the Communion of the King and Queen. The stillness was broken at last by the Lord's Prayer intoned to an ancient plainchant (Merbecke modified), and the note of praise and thanksgiving was restored in the "Gloria in Excelsis."



QUEEN MARY AND THE PRINCESSES ELIZABETH AND MARGARET



STANDARD BEARERS OF THE EMPIRE OF INDIA AND THE
DOMINIONS IN THE FINAL PROCESSION

MUSIC OF THE CORONATION

The “Gloria” was sung to the fine festival setting in B flat for choir and orchestra which Sir Charles Stanford wrote for the Coronation of King George V. Musically it presented a striking contrast with all that had preceded it. One may trace affinities from Tye and Byrd to Wesley and Parry, but Stanford moves in a wider world. The modern composers owe more than they know to him. The energy and freedom of this “Gloria” open a door to such works as the “Te Deum” which Dr. Vaughan Williams wrote for the conclusion of the ceremony.

This “Te Deum” takes example from Stanford in its aim of embracing the whole text in one musical idea developed throughout its whole course. The idea, a trumpet flourish and a bold unison chant, and its rugged harmonic treatment, are wholly characteristic of its composer, though it is described as “composed on traditional themes.” It strides forward with an unflagging rhythm, never dwelling sentimentally on expressive details but finding space for the expression of the words without checking the rhythmic stride. After a last outburst of the trumpet flourish the final prayer, “Let me never be confounded,” is left to the voices alone, who end it with a quiet cadence. The “Te Deum” summed up unmistakably the essential feeling of the Coronation Service, in which, behind all the glitter and brilliance, the pomp and dignity, there lay a deep sense of humility, of thanksgiving for the present occasion, and of trust in a sure guidance for the future. All was now accomplished save one final ceremony ; that was the singing of the National Anthem as the King and Queen, returning from St. Edward’s Chapel in all the panoply of Monarchy, proceeded once more through the whole length of the Abbey. All the participants in the processions preceded them down the nave. Elgar’s “Pomp and Circumstance” and other marches added their audible brilliance to that on which every eye was feasting, and so a great service which had actually taken only two hours in performance but seemed to have contained a lifetime of experience was brought to a conclusion with a final paean of organ music.

RETURN TO THE PALACE

WHILE the solemn ceremonies in the Abbey were in progress, the military procession for the return journey was forming up in neighbouring streets. In advance of the mounted troops marched those on foot who had had no part in the outward cavalcade from Buckingham Palace. In themselves they constituted a military pageant, plentifully interspersed with bands on foot or mounted, which must have stirred and uplifted all hearts.

First marched the Colonial contingent, men of all complexions and in a brilliant diversity of uniforms, but one in evident pride of bearing. The picturesque troops from Burma were warmly cheered by the crowds. Southern Rhodesians in shorts, South Africans and New Zealanders followed. With these were eight tall police, conspicuous in severe black uniforms and white helmets, representing Newfoundland. Then came the Australian soldiers, sailors, and airmen, a body of magnificent men who aroused special enthusiasm; then Canada's contribution, including a dazzling company of "Mounties" riding with rifles resting on their thighs.

Before the more varied splendours of India came along, with pagris and tunics of gold, white, blue, and crimson, the Royal Air Force intervened with a display of disciplined marching that showed the youngest Service to be in no way behind its seniors in ceremonial drill. Small detachments, including the Chaplains' Department and the Nursing Service, preceded and followed the main detachments of the Territorial Army. These and the massed columns of Regular Infantry, who came next, alike wore the new uniform of dark blue, varying in minor—but, to those near and knowledgeable enough—distinctive details to differentiate each arm of the Service and each unit. Foot Guards in towering bearskins and

scarlet tunics and detachments of the Royal Corps of Signals and the Royal Engineers marched in front of the mounted part of the long procession.

The mounted band of the Royal Artillery led an impressive array of guns, the drivers and gunners all in full dress, the gun-teams groomed till they shone almost as brightly as their harness. Then came the cavalry, and after them the Naval and Marine detachments, who marched like the veterans that the many medals they wore showed them to be. These Royal Marines and bluejackets, with all in the procession that wore the kilt, were singled out for special acclamation by the crowds. If single detachments must be singled out for particular praise the honour must go, among the mounted troops, to "K" Battery of the Royal Horse Artillery ; among those on foot, to the splendid Foot Guards.

The procession passed along the Victoria Embankment on the way back to Buckingham Palace. The King and Queen had a wonderful reception from 37,000 London schoolchildren, for whom the Embankment had been reserved. It was the King's own request that the children should be among the first to greet him after he had been crowned, and the London County Council made elaborate arrangements to comply with his wishes. The children were brought by rail, by road, and by Thames steamers to the Embankment, where the many groups were marshalled and fitted into their appointed places. In the afternoon they were taken home again by the same precise organization. It all worked, so far as could be seen, without a hitch, and only one casualty, and that a slight one, was recorded.

About half-past 9 the first of the cheering and singing groups sailed up the Thames and was disembarked at Westminster Pier, and arrivals by all available forms of transport continued for more than two hours. When all were in their places the Embankment from Bridge Street to Northumberland Avenue had been reduced to a comparatively narrow, sand-covered processional way, hemmed by the lines of children, about twenty deep, seated or standing, on the footpaths and on the tracks from which the tramcars were temporarily banished.

Behind them, on one side of the thoroughfare, was a long row of closely filled stands. On the Thames were several gaily-dressed ships, which had been transformed into stands for spectators.

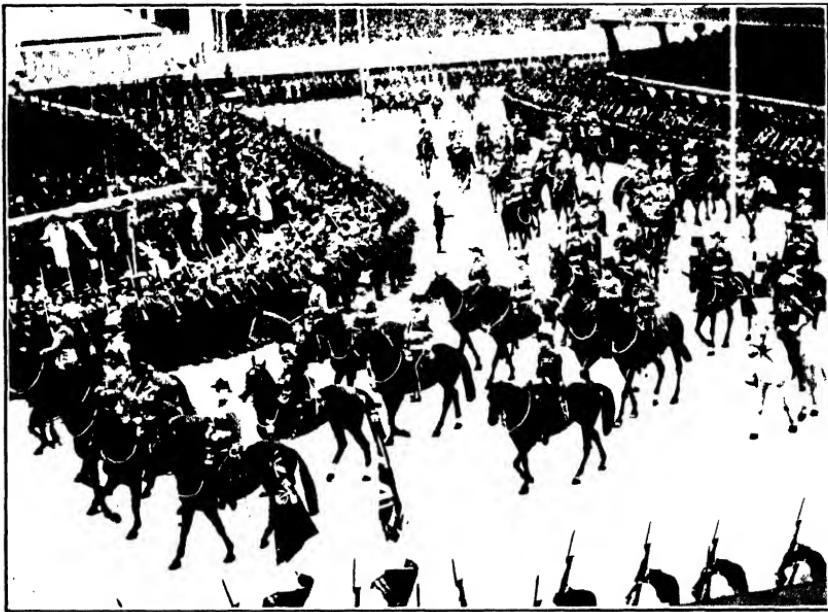
After the children had been served with light refreshments there was a comparatively short time to wait till the head of the procession turned into the Embankment. Its appearance was greeted with volleys of shrill cheers. Each contingent in this memorable pageant of the armed Forces received its individual and special welcome, but there was a very warm, hospitable note in young London's reception of the Dominion, the Indian, and the Colonial troops. It was easy, also, to detect admiration of the men of the Royal Air Force as they marched past with rhythmic swing. Between the first and the second part of the procession there was a longish interval, which some of the children employed in obeying a thunderous injunction, proclaimed by loud-speaker from County Hall, to leave no litter behind. Cheering from the direction of the House of Commons announced that the King and Queen were on their way from the Abbey, and the children sprang eagerly to their places.

Soon the shrill cheering resounded again, reinforced by deeper tones as the massed spectators on land and water joined in. Mr. Baldwin and the Dominion Prime Ministers were speedily identified, although the windows of their carriages were closed, and they were given rousing welcomes. There were thousands, young and not so young, eager for a glimpse of Queen Mary. The Royal carriages, with their rich hamercloth and liveried footmen, were closely scanned as they rolled past, escorted by glittering cavalry. For each there was a cheer, but for Queen Mary there was a tremendous ovation.

The pageant moved on, and far along the line of the Embankment could be seen the great State coach. The young spectators caught their breath as this wonderful thing out of the past, glittering as if new in spite of its venerable age, came into full view. It might have been supposed that their energies were by this time exhausted, but there was yet a vocal reserve, and it was fully unloosed



THE CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE PASSING CANADA HOUSE



DISTINGUISHED NAVAL AND MILITARY OFFICERS IN THE PROCESSION



SOME OF THE TROOPS, WHO REPRESENTED ALL ARMS OF THE SERVICE, IN THE PROCESSION

as the King and Queen passed slowly along. The whole Embankment seemed to be a flutter of handkerchiefs, and the sirens of ships on the river joined to swell the roar of acclamation as the last of the procession moved into Northumberland Avenue and towards Trafalgar Square.

In Pall Mall and St. James's Street the fronts of the clubs were gaily decorated, and from stands, windows and pavements Their Majesties had a Royal welcome.

In Piccadilly Circus there was a closely packed mass of humanity—nearly fifty deep—forming a flattened apex to the densely lined processional ways of Regent Street and Piccadilly. Behind the static mass bordering the troop-barred carriageway the greater part of Piccadilly Circus lay half empty, with an ever-changing population, like a fair-ground without a fair. The hundreds of people gathered there had no chance of a view of the gold coach which they had come to see ; they realized this quite early, yet there was not a single audible grumble. What there was to see was seen mostly by periscopes. Periscopes, indeed, were the great feature of that place. The open space behind permitted the hawkers to circulate. Soon no one in the crowd was without a brightly coloured oblong instrument ; soon the hindmost ranks were ingeniously fixing two together to see over the solid phalanx of periscopes in front. Before the time arrived for the passing of the procession the place was spiked with men and women precariously holding four, one on the other, adding a tottering 5ft. to their stature. The effect had a beauty of its own. Seen from above their simultaneous elevation, when the head of the procession at last approached, was like the sudden breaking of a sea of banners. The rain which began to fall just before the Royal carriages appeared had no effect ; even those who saw nothing stayed to cheer.

From a roof on the north-east corner of Oxford Circus it was possible to obtain a view, uninterrupted except by gaily decorated street islands, of half Regent Street and of Oxford Street as far as Bond Street Station. At one moment could be seen practically the whole of the carriage procession, from the Empire representatives and

the Prime Ministers to the gold State coach as it passed majestically from Piccadilly to the Marble Arch.

Shortly after 8.30 a.m. the two barriers isolating the Circus from the outer world were closed, and a rush was made for neighbouring, still accessible entries to the Royal route to south and west. Windows and roofs in all directions were crowded almost, it seemed, to danger point—many windows, too, well off the route and out of all hope, one would have thought, of even the barest glimpse of the procession. In the dense crowd on the ground within the barriers the twentieth, and in some places the thirtieth, ranks raised large periscopes whose view still larger periscopes must have obscured.

Good-tempered obedience was the crowd's most marked characteristic. Their physique was not universally equal to the strain—whence came almost continuous work, handled with quiet efficiency, for ambulance men and nurses—but their cheerful humour never broke. There was, indeed, plenty to relieve the tedium of the long wait—marching of various uniformed units ; occasional restiveness of police mounts ; periodic inspection, relief or rationing of the troops, whose Coronation blue served, in this sector, covered by the Northern Command, to set off to advantage kilts and tartan trews. Each slightest incident, from the striking up of music—the brass of the Royal Tank Corps, or vocal and unofficial, but equally effective, efforts of the crowd—to a child's breaking through the cordons of police, Scouts and soldiers in search of an errant handkerchief or Coronation favour, gave an excuse for a hearty cheer.

At 1.40 the head of the procession halted in Regent Street, opposite Hanover Street, awaiting the arrival of the main body from the Abbey. The crowd broke spontaneously into the first verse of the National Anthem, which was succeeded by a prolonged burst of cheering. Exactly an hour later the band and bugles of the 1st Battalion, The Rifle Brigade, struck up, and the procession began to move. Each Colonial and Dominion contingent evoked a cheer. As the strains of one band faded they were taken up by the next. The pipes of the H.L.I., the stolidly

unconcerned drum-horses of the R.H.A. and the 16th/5th Lancers, the acrobatic drum-major of the Royal Marines—each received their meed of applause. With the carriage procession of Prime Ministers and Empire representatives applause broke out anew ; and the arrival of Mr. Baldwin's carriage, coinciding with the sloping of arms by the troops lining the route in preparation for the "Present" to the first carriage of the Royal Family, brought a tremendous burst of enthusiasm.

Queen Mary's glass coach was not far behind, and could be heard approaching in the voices of the spectators. Then, as the State coach rounded the curve of Regent Street—"No joy-ride," murmured one watcher, his eye on the springing. But it was a ride that brought joy to the countless fortunates whose vigil or early rising attested their loyalty to the newly crowned King and Queen.

When the procession, shortly before 3 o'clock, began to pass through the Marble Arch the crowd round Tyburn Way was massed fifty to 100 deep against the barriers, with thousands of men and women spread loosely in the background using periscopes to catch a reflected image of the pageant. In Hyde Park one side of the East Carriage Drive presented a line of full stands with a jam of people below them. On the other side the multitude, seen from a roof high above, had become inseparable from the trees.

The gathering of a patient and cheerful throng had been cumulative over the greater part of a night and a day. Large numbers of visitors arriving from the country by train made directly from the stations to the northern section of the processional area and mixed with a London aggregation which had gone without sleep. By 7 o'clock few opportunities remained to squeeze into a position, except in the stands, which would promise even a partial view of the procession eight hours later, but the crowds both in the Park and at the top of Park Lane never threatened to produce any repetition of the alarming crush which surprised the authorities on the day of the funeral of King George V. A double line of steel rails provided a containing cordon, and behind this scores of short raised bars had been erected to check any dangerous swaying.

Until 10 o'clock the people found entertainment in undirected community singing, but from that hour they had either movements to watch or the broadcast of the ceremony in the Abbey to hear. In two long columns, and with several bands, the troops to line the route passed through the Park to take up their positions. Every contingent was cheered, and kilted units had particularly hearty greetings. The broadcast, towards its close, was the inspiration of an impressive and spontaneous demonstration. When the singing of the National Anthem was heard, talk and laughter were suddenly silenced, men removed their hats, and the wandering around in Park Lane and in the Park of those who had given up hope of seeing anything of the procession ceased. Troops who had been standing easy left their rifles where they had been laid on the ground, but stiffened to attention. Officers saluted ; the public became motionless. At the end three rousing cheers were given.

In the last hour before the head of the procession came into sight the crowds tightened against the barriers and became more dense. The Colonial contingent, first to pass through the Arch, released an outpouring of enthusiasm which rose and fell but never failed until culmination was reached with the rolling by of the gilded State coach, from which the King and Queen bowed their thanks for a mighty acclamation. All the unmounted Service contingents split into three columns to pass through the three openings of the Arch, and this movement, perfectly executed, was most attractive to watch in its phases of division and closing of the ranks. Light rain began to fall as the gilded coach passed along the East Carriage Drive, and a few minutes later developed into a downpour of thunderstorm intensity. For the first time the discipline of the crowds wavered. They had been asked to remain in their places until the troops lining the route had moved away. The downpour proved to be too severe a test, and thousands of people broke through the ranks to run for shelter.

From an early hour in the morning the wide spaces of Hyde Park Corner and by the Carriage Drive inside the Park presented an impressive scene of orderly crowds and

assembling pageantry. Around the Artillery Memorial were members of the British Legion with their standards, but the remainder of this part of the route was open to the general public. From the roof of St. George's Hospital the sides of the Drive presented a solid bank of faces rising on the one side to the Achilles statue, about whose legs clustered a few diminutive figures, and on the other rising in tiers to the stands and, above them again at every window, to the roofs of the vast hotels in Park Lane. It was a quiet crowd, obviously good-humoured and ready to cheer anyone or anything that came along.

There was plenty to occupy the later hours of waiting. Before 10 o'clock troops taking part in the procession began to assemble in the Park and marched down towards the Palace with bands playing and splendid in the uniforms once familiar, but not often seen for many years. Then, when the Abbey ceremony began, came two of the most impressive moments of the day. As St. Edward's Crown was placed upon the King's head, the people with one accord rose in the stands, the men uncovered, and stood silent while the climax of the rite was accomplished. Again at the end of the service the concourse in the Abbey and the great crowds lining the processional route became one congregation when the singing of "God Save the King" was taken up, as the rubric directs, "with full power of all assembled."

A bird's-eye view of the long procession was an unforgettable sight. The troops moved by in a steady stream, without hitch or halting. The dividing of the double column of fours to pass through the two arches of the Wellington Arch and their reunion on the near side was carried out by every detachment with exact precision. The spectacle of a detachment of the Guards, their bayonets silver against the solid black mass of bearskins and below a phalanx of scarlet and swinging arms, approaching from the distance, was but one of the many splendid sights that preceded the climax of the procession. Then, as the Royal Family approached, the roar of cheers came onward, culminating in a tremendous acclamation when the State coach swung through the Arch.

The last part of the route lay down Constitution Hill, at any time a superb setting for pageantry, and for some days past resplendent with banners and flanked with stands 10ft. or 15ft. high, draped in the prevailing colour scheme of red, gold, and blue, which contrasted happily with the soft green of the newly-leaved plane trees lining the avenue. The hours of waiting passed quickly enough and excitement came quickly to boiling point when the great moment arrived. And though heavy rain began to fall before one-third of the procession had passed it did not chill the enthusiasm.

When the King and Queen reached Buckingham Palace a dull, dripping sky was above, a forest of open umbrellas below. Under the rain the great array of troops marched steadily round the Queen Victoria Memorial and away along Birdcage Walk. The processions of the Empire leaders, of the Royal Family, and of Queen Mary were greeted with cheers that increased each time in volume. But these plaudits were nothing to those that welcomed home the King and Queen. They had been away not quite six hours. But in another sense they had journeyed through many centuries between their departure for Westminster Abbey and their return. Some such thought may have been in the minds of their welcoming subjects. Whether that was so or not, it is certain that their cheers now had a deeper meaning, as they touched a fuller note, than any heard earlier in the day.

The Royal coach entered the Palace and the last of the troops marched away. The time had now come to withdraw the last barriers of police and soldiers and allow the people to converge on the Palace, as they desired. They called out, sometimes a few of them, sometimes great numbers at once, "We want the King!" The Palace balcony had been hung with crimson and gold drapery, and presently Household officers and servants came out and laid down a carpet. More and more people hurried to join their fellows, till the whole space before the railings was black with them.

The King, in crown and ermine robe, the train borne by his pages, was visible first. As he bowed in acknowledg-

RETURN TO THE PALACE

ment of the acclamation he looked serious and a little pale. The Queen, likewise wearing crown and robes, and attended by her company of train-bearers, stood beside him. Behind the adjoining window could be seen Queen Mary. When the little Princesses, Elizabeth and Margaret, both wearing their coronets, joined their parents the cheers swelled anew. Then the group, at once dignified and charming, was completed by the arrival of Queen Mary. The two Princesses waved their hands joyfully ; Queen Mary acknowledged her reception with slight gestures of her right hand. They remained there for perhaps two minutes, then withdrew.



THE KING'S BROADCAST

FRESH from the inspiration of the great ceremony in the Abbey and his dedication to their service, the King broadcast from Buckingham Palace on the evening of Coronation Day a message of thankfulness and high resolve to all the peoples of his Empire. His message was as follows :—

“ It is with a very full heart that I speak to you to-night. Never before has a newly-crowned King been able to talk to all his peoples in their own homes on the day of his Coronation. Never has the ceremony itself had so wide a significance, for the Dominions are now free and equal partners with this ancient Kingdom, and I felt this morning that the whole Empire was in very truth gathered within the walls of Westminster Abbey.

“ I rejoice that I can now speak to you all, wherever you may be, greeting old friends in distant lands and, as I hope, new friends in those parts where it has not yet been my good fortune to go. In this personal way the Queen and I wish health and happiness to you all, and we do not forget at this time of celebration those who are living under the shadow of sickness or distress. The example of courage and good citizenship is always before us, and to them I would send a special message of sympathy and good cheer.

“ I cannot find words with which to thank you for your love and loyalty to the Queen and myself. Your good will in the streets to-day, your countless messages from overseas and from every quarter of these islands have filled our hearts to overflowing. I will only say this : If, in the coming years, I can show my gratitude in service to you, that is the way above all others that I would choose.

“ To many millions the Crown is the symbol of unity. By the grace of God and by the will of the free peoples of

the British Commonwealth, I have assumed that Crown. In me, as your King, is vested for a time the duty of maintaining its honour and integrity.

“ This is, indeed, a grave and constant responsibility, but it gave me confidence to see your representatives around me in the Abbey and to know that you, too, were enabled to join in that infinitely beautiful ceremonial. Its outward forms come down from distant times, but its inner meaning and message are always new ; for the highest of distinctions is the service of others, and to the Ministry of Kingship I have in your hearing dedicated myself, with the Queen at my side, in words of the deepest solemnity. We will, God helping us, faithfully discharge our trust.

“ Those of you who are children now will, I hope, retain memories of a day of carefree happiness such as I still have of the day of my Grandfather's Coronation. In years to come some of you will travel from one part of the Commonwealth to another, and moving thus within the family circle will meet others whose thoughts are coloured by the same memories, whose hearts are united in devotion to our common heritage.

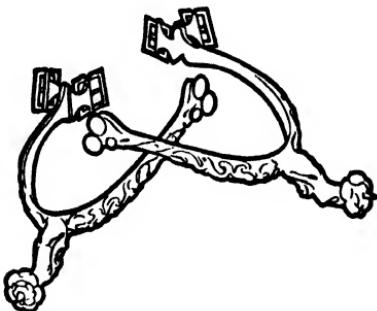
“ You will learn, I hope, how much our free association means to us, how much our friendship with each other and with all the nations upon earth can help the cause of peace and progress.

“ The Queen and I will always keep in our hearts the inspiration of this day. May we ever be worthy of the good will which, I am proud to think, surrounds us at the outset of my reign. I thank you from my heart, and may God bless you all.”

This was the first time since his Accession that the King had broadcast a message to the Empire. He made his historic speech sitting alone in a small room at the Palace with two microphones on the desk in front of him. His opening sentences were deeply charged with the emotion which he felt, but as he proceeded the King spoke calmly and with confidence, and for some ten minutes he spoke to his hundreds of millions of subjects in deeply impressive words.

CROWN AND EMPIRE

The King's message came as the climax of a skilfully synchronized broadcasting programme of forty minutes, in which voices were repeatedly carried to and fro between the different countries of the Empire in a universal act of homage and greeting to their Majesties. Mr. Baldwin and other Prime Ministers spoke from London ; the Viceroy of India spoke from his capital ; and there was a greeting from Bermuda on behalf of the Colonies. Individual citizens in England, Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland, and many of the Dominions echoed, with many original touches, the felicitations of their official representatives.



EVENING CELEBRATIONS

THE patriotic demonstrations outside the Palace continued till nearly midnight. At times the crowd was estimated to number 50,000, and "God Save the King" was sung spontaneously and with loyal fervour. The King and Queen responded by coming on to the balcony four times, in addition to their appearance shortly after returning from the Abbey.

Immediately after the King had delivered his broadcast a crowd began to assemble before the gates of the Palace in the confident hope that Their Majesties would once more appear on the balcony. By 8.30 the greatest throng that had been seen at any point throughout the day was pressing against the railings and filling the stands as well as street and pavement. At 9 the floodlighting flashed upon the façade of the Palace and was saluted by a great outburst of cheering. To acclamations even more enthusiastic than any heard in the afternoon during the procession the King and Queen emerged alone, the King in evening dress with the blue ribbon of the Garter, the Queen in a white cloak and wearing a tiara of diamonds. They remained for some minutes in the full blaze of the floodlights, while heads appeared at the Palace windows, and the multitude below waved Union Jacks and hand-kerchiefs, threw their hats high in the air, and cheered. The King waved his hand several times and the Queen bowed before leaving the balcony.

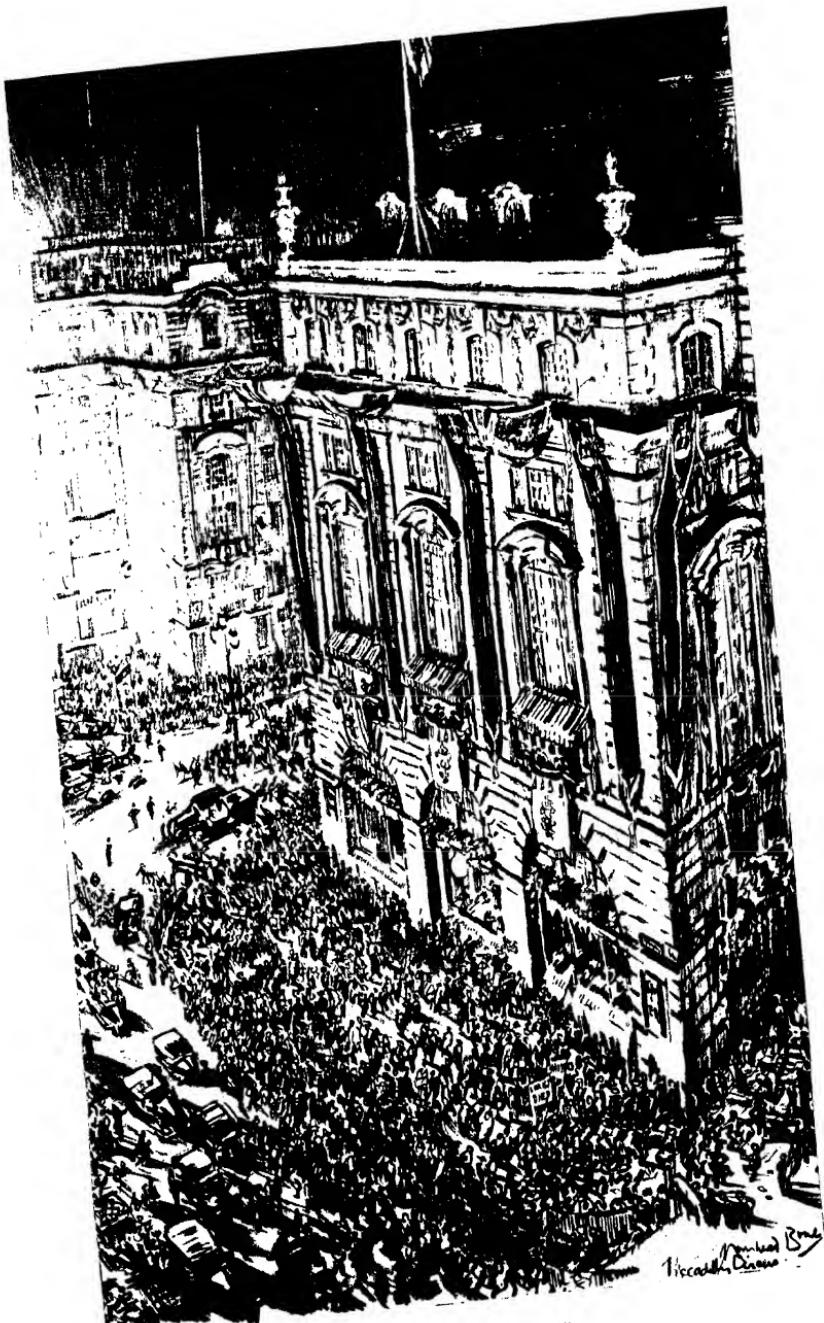
The crowd showed no intention of dispersing. It rather increased, and for an hour the cheering was continuous, growing in volume as thousands of newcomers arrived. At a quarter to 10 there was redoubled applause as the King and Queen again appeared. The cheering lasted for nearly five minutes, and when the King waved his hand in farewell a forest of arms was raised in reply. Their Majesties came out again some ten minutes later and again

shortly after 11.30. This final appearance was followed by a broadcast message that the King and Queen had retired for the night.

Meanwhile the Coronation was being celebrated in retrospect by gay crowds till early next morning. Flood-lighting and other illuminations transformed the Thames, St. James's Park, and the principal streets and buildings in the West End and the City. Heavy showers drenched the earlier merrymakers in the West End but did not quench their will to celebrate. The severest disappointment was that of the hundreds of little streets in South and East London, decorated by the joint efforts of their inhabitants. In many of them the tables were already set for an open-air tea for the children when the rain first began to fall in the afternoon. Most of these street celebrations had to be postponed to the next fine day, but some were transferred to halls, and there the festivities went on through the evening.

Before half-past 8 the length of Oxford Street was crowded, though the illuminations were yet to come. Down the middle of Regent Street flares were already burning, and there were more in St. James's Street, Pall Mall, and in the Haymarket. Faithful to an older and prettier fashion, the whole of Pall Mall was strung with lines of coloured lamps, though here and there was also the blander radiance of floodlighting. On the roofs of various clubs more flares challenged the dampness, and the United Services Club had illuminations worthy of a party at old Carlton House.

By 9 o'clock Piccadilly Circus was set for celebration. Laughing crowds held up the last of the traffic, and where some taxicabs and cars had struggled on as far as Coventry Street the crowd good-humouredly revenged itself. Rear bumpers were a welcome perch for free riders, and one small car, marooned in the press, was given an amiable rocking. Then a procession formed and set off down the Haymarket, where a few of the more impatient linked arms and started dancing. In every street someone would set up singing—soldiers' songs, snatches of war-time favourites, the traditional music of a British festival.



PICCADILLY CIRCUS
A Coronation study by Mr. Muirhead Bone

EVENING CELEBRATIONS

Handbells rang ; the air was alive with cat-calls and whistles, badinage, and responsive laughter. Nobody minded that the streets were wet and Piccadilly Circus looked as though a thaw had followed heavy snow.

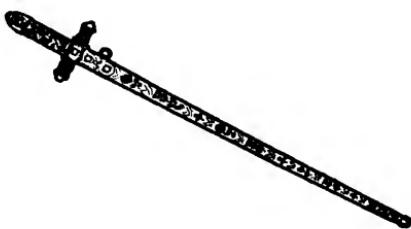
The thoroughness of the arrangements made by the police for dealing with probably the largest assembly of people in London within living memory was reflected in the smoothness with which their plans worked out. The only noteworthy hitch occurred outside Westminster Abbey after the Coronation. The 4,000 cars which had brought the guests invited to witness the ceremony occupied approximately twelve miles of road space, and it had been calculated in advance that, in the best possible circumstances, their arrival and setting down would take two hours and a half and their departure three hours and a half. The arrival and setting down were effected punctually. Many of the guests, however, had to endure a long delay before their cars could be brought to them at the Abbey. On the processional route the St. John Ambulance Brigade, with whom the British Red Cross Society cooperated, had a busy time, but most of the cases with which they were called on to deal were of a minor nature. The casualties were : Total cases, 9,583 ; minor cases, 9,335 ; serious, 202 ; sent to hospital, 162.

The transport arrangements could scarcely have been improved upon. Their success was all the more remarkable in that the London omnibuses did not share in the task. The total number of passengers arriving between 3 a.m. and 9 a.m. at the Southern Railway stations was 144,348. Between 4 and 5 a.m. the total was 29,345, but the peak was reached between 5 and 6 o'clock with a total of 42,344. The departure from the railway stations started almost immediately after the Coronation procession had reached Buckingham Palace. According to an official estimate of the crowds who left London by rail that day and evening, Paddington, Euston, and St. Pancras each disposed of 50,000, and King's Cross 40,000.

More than 5,669,000 passengers were carried by the Underground railways during forty-six hours of continuous service. But for the rain the 6,000,000 mark might have

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been reached. There was no accident, and all trains ran within four minutes of the scheduled time. In the forty-six hours 6,530 trains passed through Charing Cross Station. The feature of the Underground traffic was the smooth, easy flow, achieved because travel was spread over some hours instead of being highly concentrated. There was less crowding than on any other important occasion. Previously, when the Underground service began at 5 a.m., the first trains were overwhelmed. By running all night it was possible to have the service built up ready for the peak period whenever it might occur. The tramcars, trolley-buses, and coaches were not as busy as they might have been, probably because of the extraordinary number of people who stayed in the centre of London throughout the night before the Coronation. Thanks largely to newspaper advice, traffic in general was spread over a longer period than had been expected.



THE LORD'S ANOINTED

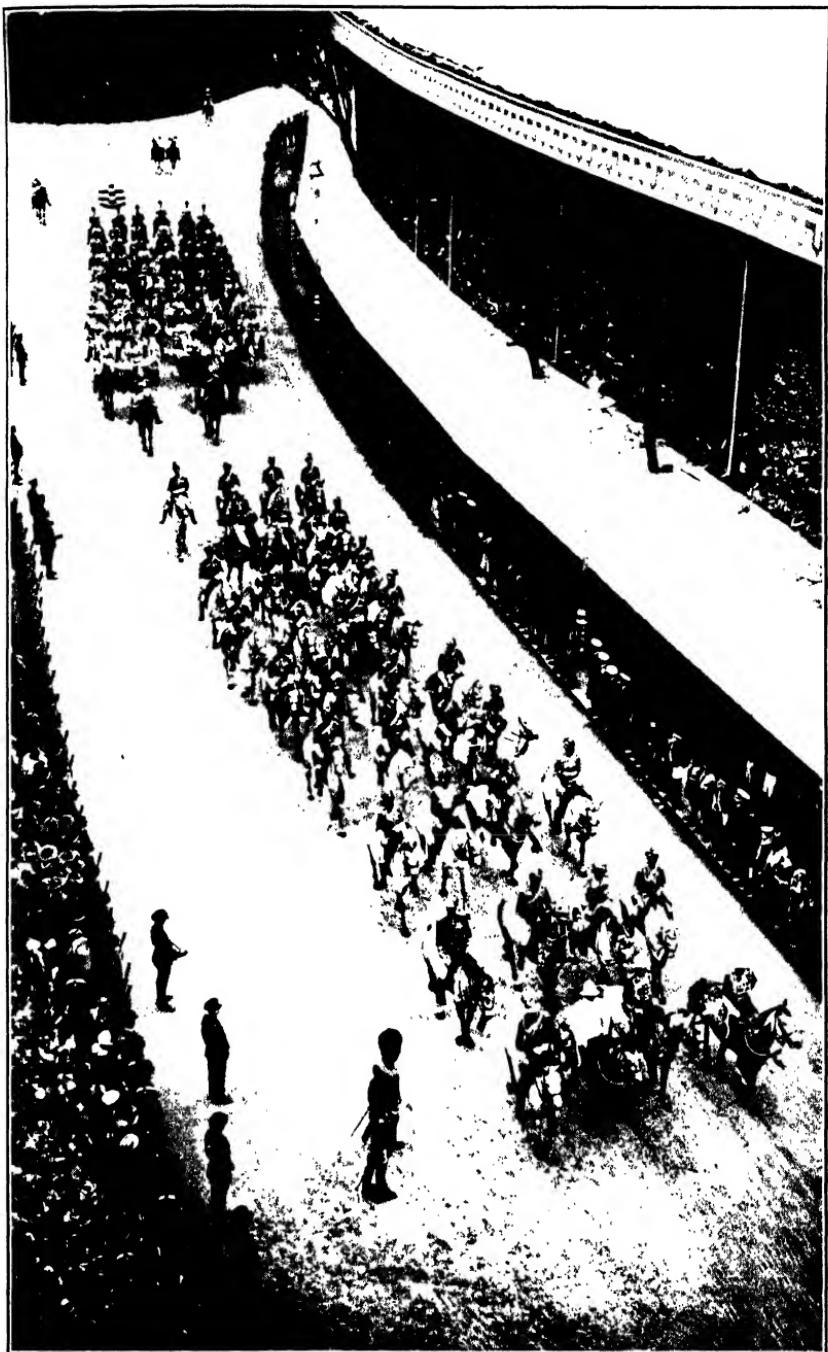
LEADING ARTICLE FROM *The Times*, MAY 13, 1937

WITH festal pomp coming down from the days of King Edgar and from dimmer acons beyond, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth have been consecrated to the service of their Empire. The King has been acclaimed by his people ; he has sworn to defend their laws ; he has been solemnly anointed into his mysterious dignity ; he has received glowing emblems that only an anointed King may hold or wear ; he has been lifted into his Throne and so taken possession of his kingdom ; his prelates have sworn him fealty and his lay lords have become his men "of life and limb and of earthly worship." A tumult of loyal enthusiasm, rising in sonorous crescendo through months of preparation, reached its climax yesterday in the cheering of such crowds as no event in history has assembled before, in fanfares of trumpets, in peals of bells, in salvos of the great guns at the Tower. Yet at the heart, in the time-mellowed grey stillness of the Abbey, there was silence. As the golden canopy was held over King Edward's chair, and the Archbishop went in under it to the King, bearing the consecrated oil, as into a tabernacle, it seemed that those two men were alone with God, performing an act greater than they knew, more solemn than any person present could hope to understand. Upon the great congregation who watched the ancient rite performed, on the same holy ground where their ancestors had seen the unction of so many English Kings, there could not but descend some of the feeling of those same ancestors, that a man who had sat in that chair and passed through that experience must rise up something other than he had been.

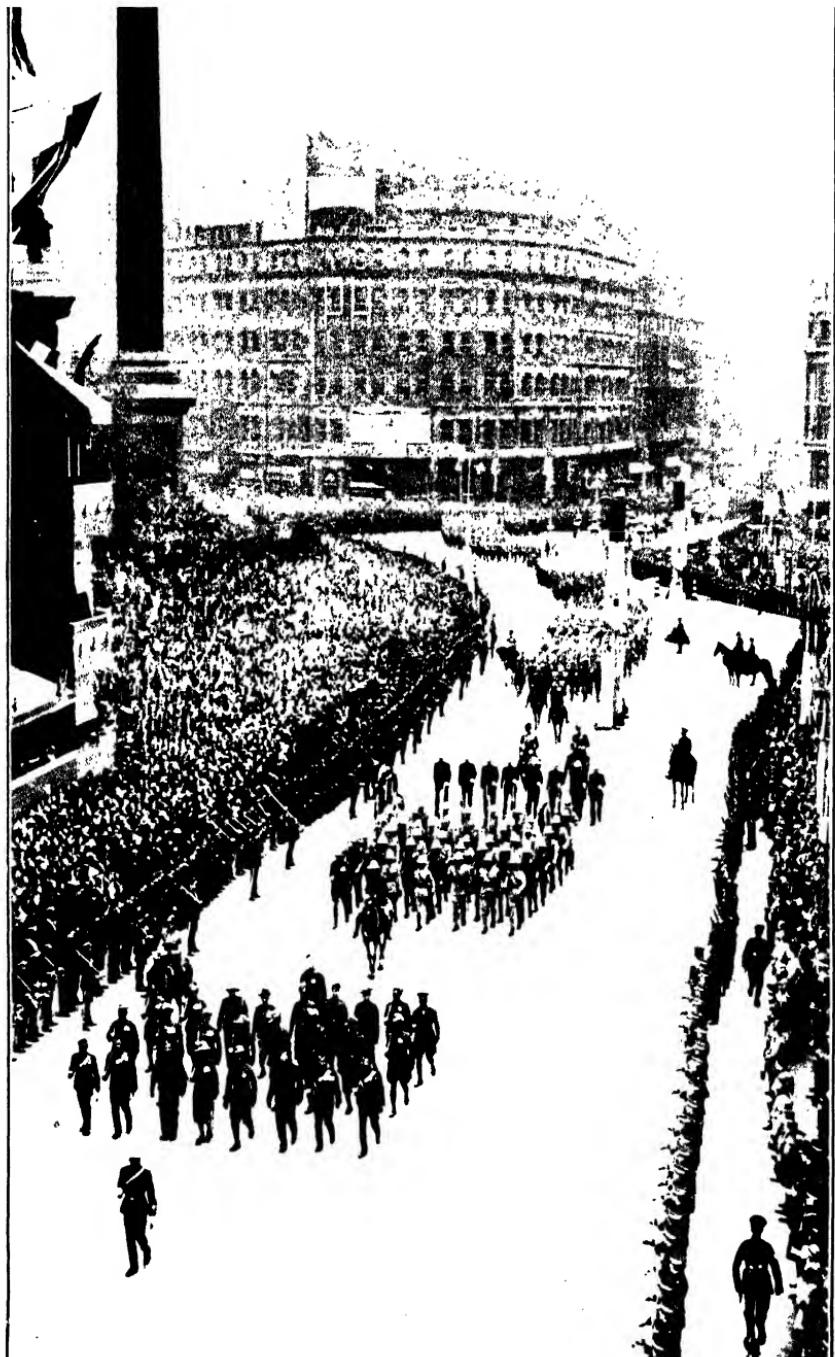
For, with an obstinate unanimity beyond the power of republican rationalism to touch, men in all ages have

associated the idea of kingship with the idea of the Divine. Melchizedek, King of Salem, who was a priest of the most high God, the mysterious primitive figure that haunts the imagination of the Middle Ages with the dream of a harmony of flesh and spirit in the domain of politics, we know now to be a conception common to all the races of mankind. Wherever men have formed societies there are or have been Kings ; and the King, when first he appears, is a man who draws his strength from powers outside human life, yet draws it not for himself. Because he is in mysterious communion with forces greater than man, his life is the life of the tribe ; for his people he lives, and for his people sometimes he must sacramentally die. European kingship has travelled far out of the remote world in which these ideas were conceived ; in England its character has been translated and retranslated, it has at one time been rationalized almost out of existence, before it took on the Imperial and federal significance it bears to-day.

And yet, whatever may have been the forces making for the survival of the Throne at different phases of its long history, nothing is more remarkable than that now, when by common consent it is more firmly established than ever before, it reposes upon almost the same body of sentiments out of which the idea of monarchy sprang. George VI, anointed, crowned, and enthroned, is become a sacramental, even a sacrificial, man, in one sense set apart from his fellows, but in a far deeper and more ancient sense made one with them as never before. Like the magical Kings of remote pre-history, he has become the mortal vessel of an immortal idea ; and the idea is the life of his people. Because the life of every subject has communion with the King's consecrated life they are enabled to feel themselves one organism, and believe that the unity is sacred. More than this ; because many peoples draw this vivifying inspiration from the life of one King they are enabled to realize themselves as a single living body, and the soul of an Empire is preserved after all the visible links between its parts have been relaxed. For in the last resort that which most surely commands human allegiance is not an abstraction but a man. This is the truth upon which the Christian faith is built ; and in the Coronation, where



THE KING'S ESCORT OF INDIAN ARMY OFFICERS IN THE PROCESSION



REPRESENTATIVES OF OVERSEA TROOPS IN THE PROCESSION

THE LORD'S ANOINTED

the King becomes the Lord's anointed, *Christus Domini*, its two expressions, religious and secular, are visibly fused into one.

Such a community of sentiment between the present and the far past might be interpreted in very different ways. To some, no doubt, it seems no more than an outworn superstition, cumbering the paths of progress. A more profound view will see evidence that kingship is not an administrative device suitable only to a particular age and level of civilization, but that it corresponds to some permanent instinct in human nature itself, and so is capable, in Lord Bryce's words, "of satisfying the need men have to find a consecration for Power and a tie which shall bind them together and represent the aspirations of collective humanity." *&νθρωπος μετρεῖ πάντα*. Not decaying superstition, but living humanism, demands that monarchy shall be Divine. This refreshment of the idea of monarchy from the first fount of its being allows the sanctity of kingship to remain entirely distinct from the totality of power. Despotism, such as England knew in the Tudor age, is an intermediate phase of the idea, which is foreign both to its infancy and to the maturity we now see. To-day, like our remote ancestors, we do not attribute to a King a Divine right to rule, but a Divine duty to live, and to live a representative life. Purists in the last weeks have objected to the popular name of yesterday's great ceremony, saying that its essence is in the unction and not in the imposition of the Crown. Yet there is deep meaning, though perhaps an accidental one, to be traced in the common name. It is a right instinct that seizes upon the Crown as the pre-eminent emblem of all the emblems that were yesterday bestowed upon the King. The symbol of power, older in our English tradition than the Crown, is the Rod of Justice, which survives among the regalia as the Sceptre with the Cross, and in another shape as the Orb. This, great and noble as its meaning is, has not for centuries been regarded as the principal part of the King's investiture. The Crown has a far greater hold on the imagination, and the millions who heard yesterday the words with which the Archbishop put it upon King George's head must have noticed that there was no

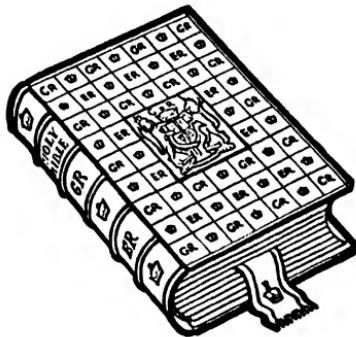
mention of authority and power. It is the Crown of glory and righteousness, the Crown of princely virtues, to be associated with a right faith and manifold fruits of good works. It stands, indeed, for everything that makes the King both the exemplar and the epitome of the life of all the peoples who are linked together by his name.

It is this sense of the representative character of the Monarchy that makes the Coronation of the Queen so necessary and so moving a part of the great rite. She has little or no share in her husband's authority—the beautiful gesture of Queen Elizabeth yesterday, when, crowned and sceptred, she made a deep obeisance to the enthroned King on her way to her own Throne, reminded all present that she is one of his subjects. But in his life as representative of his people she has an equal share, recognized for nearly a thousand years, since St. Dunstan first provided an office for the crowning of the Queen. Hers is described as the Crown of glory, honour, and joy ; through her the life of the King is completed and made a true microcosm of the life of his peoples. The many who still hear the voice of King George V, diffidently describing himself as “in some sort the head of this great family,” will understand how much the King's life of honour and joy in the circle of his own home enhances his quality as the hallowed representative of the national aspirations.

Yet, while that which was personal to the King ranged so far beyond the idea of mere authority, yesterday's ceremony, taken as a whole, remains a benediction upon power. There breathes through all the august ritual a sense of how sublime and awful is the “endless adventure” of governing men. There come moments to all engaged in that adventure when their calling seems no more than a petty scuffle of selfish factions, a sordid huckstering over the mere material means of life, even an ignoble personal rivalry for place and power. “What shadows,” cried Burke in a moment of political disillusion, “what shadows we are, and what shadows we pursue !” To such moods of pessimism the great solemnity of the Coronation is the answer. *Confortare*, says the ancient antiphon over the crowned King : “Be strong, and play the man.” This vocation of politics is the noblest of all human callings ; its

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business is not with the market-place but with the stars ; it is still what it was to Plato, to St. Augustine, to Sir Thomas More. Its purpose is no less than the building of the City of God. To that exalted task King and people have been consecrated together. A vow has been made that binds all who exercise any degree of political authority —that binds, therefore, every subject of the King. In redeeming it the responsibility rests upon all, but it is the King's part to be at the centre, uniting in his hands all the threads of the Imperial endeavour, counselling all, interpreting all the parts of his Empire to one another.



IN SHABBY STREETS

“This poor widow cast in more than they all.”

*Shildon, Spennymoor, Shiney Row,
Pelaw, Pity Me, Seldom Seen,
What have you got to-day to show ?
What have you done for your King and Queen ?*

The flags are flimsy, the streets are shabby,
With mean low houses of cold grey stone.
But which of the guests that throng the Abbey
Paid for his flag with a meal forgone ?

Paper streamers and cheapest cotton—
Sign enough for the world to know
That you in London are not forgotten
In Shildon, Spennymoor, Shiney Row.

Would you choose the Mall with its crowns and gilding
If you were King or if you were Queen
Or a paper flag on a lonely building
In Pelaw, Pity Me, Seldom Seen ?

C. A. A.

From “The Times” May 12, 1937

PART III.

1837—1937

THE CENTENARY OF
QUEEN VICTORIA'S ACCESSION



QUEEN VICTORIA

in the painting by William Fowler in the Buckingham Palace Collection.
It was probably the last portrait made before her marriage

1837—1937

THE CENTENARY OF QUEEN VICTORIA'S ACCESSION

BY G. M. YOUNG

AT the beginning of 1837 we are midway between the passing of the Reform Act in 1832 and the defeat of its authors, the Whigs, at the General Election of 1841. They had much to be proud of. By enfranchising the middle classes they could claim to have saved the country from such a revolution as that which, in 1830, had swept away the restored monarchy of France and put Louis-Philippe on the throne. The new Poor Law, by arresting the flow of indiscriminate relief, had delivered rural England from impending bankruptcy ; agricultural unemployment was dropping, wages were in many counties rising, and, to give the great experiment in social amelioration its fair opportunity of succeeding, Nature was providing a sequence of good harvests. The standing vexation of tithes had been equitably mitigated, and the newly created Ecclesiastical Commission was preparing to deal with the other mischief of plural livings and the gross inequalities of clergymen's stipends. Finally, the Municipal Corporations Act had cleared away the antiquated, and often corrupt, machinery of local government and given the towns a clean and modern framework within which to exercise their civic energies. The electorate, which we may think of as one man in six, the forty shilling freeholder, the £50 tenant at will, and the £10 householder rated to the relief of the poor, had much to be grateful for, not much to complain of, and not very much to be interested in. It is a time of apathy, the product in part of prosperity, in part of reaction from the excited hopes and

CROWN AND EMPIRE

apprehensions of 1831. The storm had passed, the earthquake had come and gone, and, to outward seeming, everything was much the same, if not, as petulant Radicals sometimes asserted, rather worse.

Even Ireland, under the amiable administration of Lord Mulgrave, might be described as tranquil, though with a dangerous tranquillity depending less on the contentment of the people, or the efficiency of Government, than on the authority of O'Connell and his General, or National, Association. Throughout Great Britain the determination to maintain the Union with Ireland was overwhelming in its strength ; to repeal the Act of 1800 and to leave the two islands united only by what O'Connell called "the golden link of the Crown" was not within the range of public thought. Yet nothing less, if his assurances to his followers were to be believed, would content him, and his sovereignty over Irish Catholic opinion seemed to be almost absolute. The alternative, therefore, was either to go on making concessions to Irish demands, in the hope that the chief demand, by being indefinitely postponed, would in the end be forgotten ; or else stubbornly to resist every measure which, by making Irish opinion more effective, would intensify the agitation for Repeal. With what show of reason or justice, it was asked on the one side, can you refuse to Ireland either a Poor Law or a Municipal Corporation Act ? Is there any deep-seated peculiarity in the Irish people which makes them unfit for either ? And on the other : But what assurance can you give us that Corporations, harmless and even useful as they appear, will not be perverted into political organizations, animated by an unflinching hostility to the English Connexion and the Church ? United by the watchword "No Repeal !" Whigs and Tories went down to do battle under the opposing banners of Justice for Ireland and the Church in Danger ; and, as matters stood, the Tories were bound to win.

"The tongue of the Right Honourable Member for Tamworth governs England." Even party invective, if it is to command a hearing, must have a kernel of truth ; no one ever called Mr. Fox a kill-joy or Mr. Pitt undignified, or charged Canning with excessive modesty or Palmerston

THE CENTENARY OF QUEEN VICTORIA'S ACCESSION

with irresolution. The suspicions with which old Tories, and strong Tories, regarded Peel were justified. He was not really at home in the Tory Party, because he would never have been at home in any party. But he played on the House of Commons like an old fiddle. He was not a man of wide outlook, or deep and far-sighted reflection ; so far his Whig and Radical assailants were right. But he could make an administration work with the power and precision of a fine engine. By his side on the front Opposition bench were Lord Stanley, the most dashing, and Sir James Graham, after O'Connell perhaps the most powerful, debater in the House. Both had sat in the Whig Cabinet and left it on Church policy. Stanley was to be thrice Prime Minister. Graham might have been Prime Minister if to his other gifts audacity had been added. On the Treasury bench Lord John Russell, with courage equal to any encounter, but judgment not always equal to his courage, had to fight the battle of the Whigs with such help as he could get from Howick at the Colonial Office and Morpeth, Chief Secretary for Ireland. Palmerston rarely spoke except on foreign affairs, and, though a man of fifty-three, he was very far still from that ascendancy he was some day to exercise over Parliament, and the imagination of his country and the world.

The scene of these contentions was no longer the Chapel of St. Stephen, which had been destroyed in the fire of 1834, but the old House of Lords hastily roofed and furnished, and whitewashed into the semblance of a conventicle in a manufacturing town. The Speaker, Abercromby, was an unfortunate successor to Manners Sutton, who had kept a firm hold on the House through the agitations of three Reform Bills ; he allowed members to argue with him and to debate points on which he ought to have ruled. "This," said Stanley, after one such wrangle, "is the very oddest way of keeping order I ever saw in my life." Twice in 1837 the business of the nation was suspended while cooler heads were persuading incensed colleagues, one of them Admiral Codrington, the victor of Navarino, not to carry their differences and their pistols to Putney Common or the gravel-pits at Notting Hill. Those who think that the tone of public life

CROWN AND EMPIRE

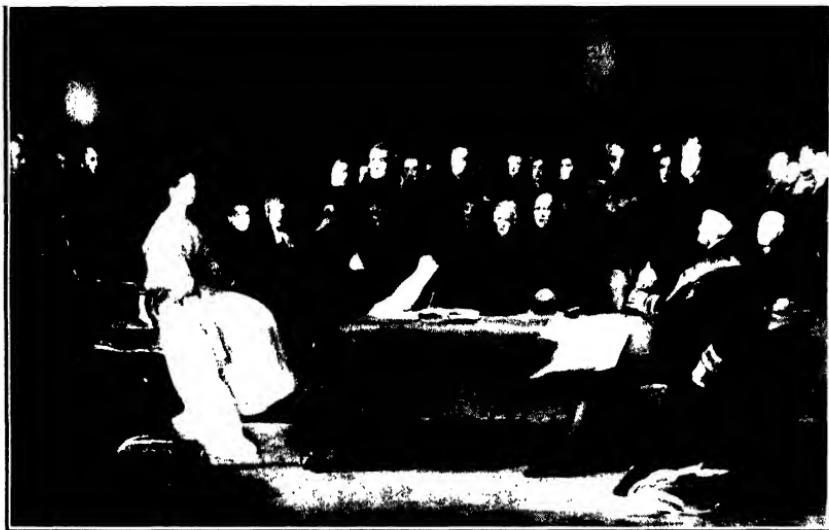
is lower to-day than it might be, should study some faithful report of a debate when O'Connell had lashed the Tories into a howling frenzy ; when, if ever the tempest lulled, some mischief-maker would awaken it again by quoting what O'Connell had said elsewhere ; when young members, flown with insolence and wine, came down, from Brooks's or the Carlton, to bait or cheer the Radicals who had dined more soberly off a cutlet at the Reform, and early passengers through Old Palace Yard halted to listen to the farmyard noises proceeding from the Commons.

The virulence of debate was in no way assuaged, perhaps it was even exacerbated, by the knowledge that when the last word had been spoken in the Commons there still remained the Lords. During the long years of unchallenged Tory government the public had almost forgotten the Upper House, and Radicals hopefully believed that in the great defeat of 1832 its power had been finally shattered. Never have political expectations been so conspicuously disappointed. Behind the Right Hon. Member for Tamworth was the Duke, and the whole phalanx of Tory lords, very recent lords many of them, the offspring of Pitt's conviction that any man of £10,000 a year was entitled to be a peer if he liked ; lords clutched from the counting house of Cornhill to make mirth for the Radical newspapers and furnish a topic for the fluent wit of young Disraeli.

Outgeneralled in the Commons, in the Lords the Government was outmanned and outgunned. Brougham had returned, to lash the friends whom he had abandoned or by whom he had been abandoned, and, by a refinement of malevolence, he chose to deliver his terrifying sarcasms from a place next to the Prime Minister. Lyndhurst was against them, and Lyndhurst was as formidable as he bid fair to be immortal. Born in Boston, when Boston was a British port, he was still youthful enough to take Disraeli's mistress off his hands ; twenty years later he was pelting his ungainly Scottish successor, Campbell, with malicious wit over the Obscene Publications Bill, and he lived till 1863. Melbourne deserves the amused affection with which posterity has agreed to regard him ; he was a man of many



QUEEN VICTORIA RECEIVING THE NEWS OF HER ACCESSION
TO THE THRONE, JUNE 20, 1837
From the painting by H. T. Wells, R.A.



QUEEN VICTORIA ATTENDING HER FIRST COUNCIL IN THE RED
SALOON AT KENSINGTON PALACE
From the drawing by Sir David Wilkie



THE CORONATION OF QUEEN VICTORIA
The Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Howley) is shown about to place the Crown
on her head. From the painting by T. Parris

THE CENTENARY OF QUEEN VICTORIA'S ACCESSION

gifts, attractive and rare. But in no conceivable combination of circumstances could he have been a great Prime Minister or a vigorous party leader. Nor, as he himself had already most convincingly demonstrated, could the Duke of Wellington. But so long as the Duke was there no dangerous conflict between the Houses was likely to arise. Every one knew that if things ever came to a crisis he would say again : " My Lords, about turn, march " ; and march they would. And most people trusted his sound good sense, his known horror of civil dissension, to say it when it needed to be said.

On one topic he spoke with an authority unequalled in Europe, and in the general want of things to occupy the public mind that topic was disproportionately prominent. By the Quadruple Treaty of 1834, and its Additional Articles, we had undertaken, in concert with France, to support the Constitutional Government of Queen Isabella, then a child of four, against the absolutist Pretender Don Carlos. In 1835 the Foreign Enlistment Act had been suspended by Order in Council to enable a British Legion, some 10,000 strong, to be recruited as auxiliaries to the Queen's Army. The commander, Colonel de Lacy Evans, a Peninsular veteran who lived to be a Crimean veteran, was something of a Radical hero, having in 1835 won Westminster from John Cam Hobhouse, Byron's friend and fellow-traveller, who had resigned on a point of conscience which to a robuster age is almost invisible. Evans had struggled bravely, and not quite unsuccessfully, to turn his riff-raff into an army, while all the common incidents of civil war in Spain, the shooting of prisoners, murder of priests, and destruction of convents, were enacted on their familiar stage. Further to aid the cause of constitutional government we had liberally furnished the Queen with military stores, and a squadron under Lord John Hay was operating on the Biscay coast ; his marines were sometimes useful in covering the flight of Evans's legionaries.

Wellington did not like it ; he knew too much of war in Spain and of the Spanish character ; and a reference in the King's Speech on January 27 to the success of our cooperating forces was enough to make cautious men

uneasy. By intervening at all, as Peel pointed out, we had set an example which the despotic Powers, Russia and Austria, might find it to their advantage to follow elsewhere—in the Turkish Empire, for example, or in Italy ; and, once embarked, where were we to stop ? Must there be more ships, more guns, more marines, assistance gradually extending to occupation ? And all for what ? To establish a Government which the Spaniards, if they really wanted it, were well able to set up for themselves ; or to support the Stock Exchange and give the Rothschilds and Ricardos a chance of recovering their Spanish advances ? “ How is it,” Mahon once asked, “ that whereas Don Carlos began with an army of 30,000 and has officially lost 310,000 killed he still has an army of 30,000 ? ” “ I can only suppose,” Peel suggested, “ that as 310,000 is the number of muskets supplied by H.M.’s Government to the Queen, the Spaniards think it a decent compliment to assume that each musket killed its man.” But that they would ever pay for them seemed unlikely.

On March 17 the Carlists inflicted a crushing defeat on Evans and his legion at Hernani, and a month later another Peninsular veteran, Sir Henry Hardinge, rose to move that the legion be recalled and naval assistance limited to purely naval purposes. Palmerston’s defence is a fine example of his gay and gallant eloquence, tossing old mistakes to oblivion and taking inconsistencies with the easy power of a thoroughbred, ranging and swooping from large prospects of history to the precise interpretation of an article, and always circling round the doctrine which, in years to come, was to distress and incense Victoria and her Consort so deeply, when it was applied to the young Italian nation. “ What,” he asked, “ is the great and fundamental difference between the champions of Divine right and the advocates of the popular principle ? Nothing more decidedly than this: that the first party consider nations to be like a private estate, the beneficial property of their possessor, and that hereditary rights must in all cases be held sacred, while the other party are of opinion that Governments are established for the good of the many, and that there must reside in every

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community the power to change not only the forms of Government but the order of the succession. This was the principle on which our own Government was founded in 1688," and where the relations of subjects and Sovereign were concerned, his own Sovereign not excluded, a Whig of 1688 Lord Palmerston would ever be. To brand the Tory opposition, too, as Carlists, as belated devotees of Divine right and the Inquisition, was a telling touch, only a little spoiled by the fact that the Constitutional Government had abrogated the self-government of the Basques which Carlos was defending, and that, in their entire indifference to the rights of humanity in wartime, there was not a *real* to choose between Carlists and Cristinos. The fortune of war brought the controversy to a close. In May, Evans retrieved his defeat by a victory on the same ground and took Irún and Fuenterrabia. What was left of the legion returned home, its departure expedited by a quarrel between its acting commander, O'Connell, and the Spanish general O'Donnell. Spain disappeared from the debates and Ireland resumed her natural pre-eminence as the grand exasperator of English politics.

In a rash and bitter phrase, not yet forgotten, Lyndhurst had stigmatized the Irish as aliens in blood, in language, and in religion, thereby furnishing the members of the General Association with as good an argument for Repeal as their hearts could desire. But the Orangemen were in the field as well, and at a great synod in Dublin on February 24 they passed fourteen resolutions, arraigning the Administration in whole and in detail. They were fighting for the relics of ascendancy, which had been fatally impaired when in 1829 the Catholics received the rights of citizenship; for government by the minority, for a Protestant magistracy, Protestant jurors and sheriffs, and a Protestant Church. If words meant anything, and in Ireland it must be owned they do not always mean very much, the Orangemen desired the impeachment of Lord Mulgrave and the dismissal of all Catholics from public employment. It is unfortunately inevitable that when a long course of exclusive appointment and promotion is to be corrected, the correction should appear to the dispossessed as a new course of unmitigated jobbery on the other side.

In 1835 there was one Catholic magistrate in Ireland ; Mulgrave appointed six, a step by itself enough to set every Orangeman whooping from Bloody Foreland to Sheep's Head. Mulgrave honestly intended to hold the balance even ; he undoubtedly enjoyed the confidence of the Catholics and the affection of the people at large ; and a gentleman, who keeps forty horses in his stable, and wastes the family estate on private theatricals, has at least three of the qualifications necessary for popularity in Ireland. But some of his appointments were unquestionably provocative, and he had brought himself into particular notice by an amiable practice of dropping in on gaols and discharging the prisoners. Those who are familiar with our Parliamentary ways can divine the consequences. Hour after hour, the question on the paper being the Municipal Corporations Bill, the House seethed and bubbled with the sufferings of Mr. Carter and the merits of Mr. Pigot, with charges of favouritism and counter-charges of oppression ; whether Pat Magrath had shot at the revenue man out of malice or bravado, whether Mr. Tighe could be fairly described as a person, whether Mr. Cassidy, magistrate, was an eminent grazier or a clerk in a distillery, and whether Mr. Corboy had, or had not, come out of prison fatter than he went in.

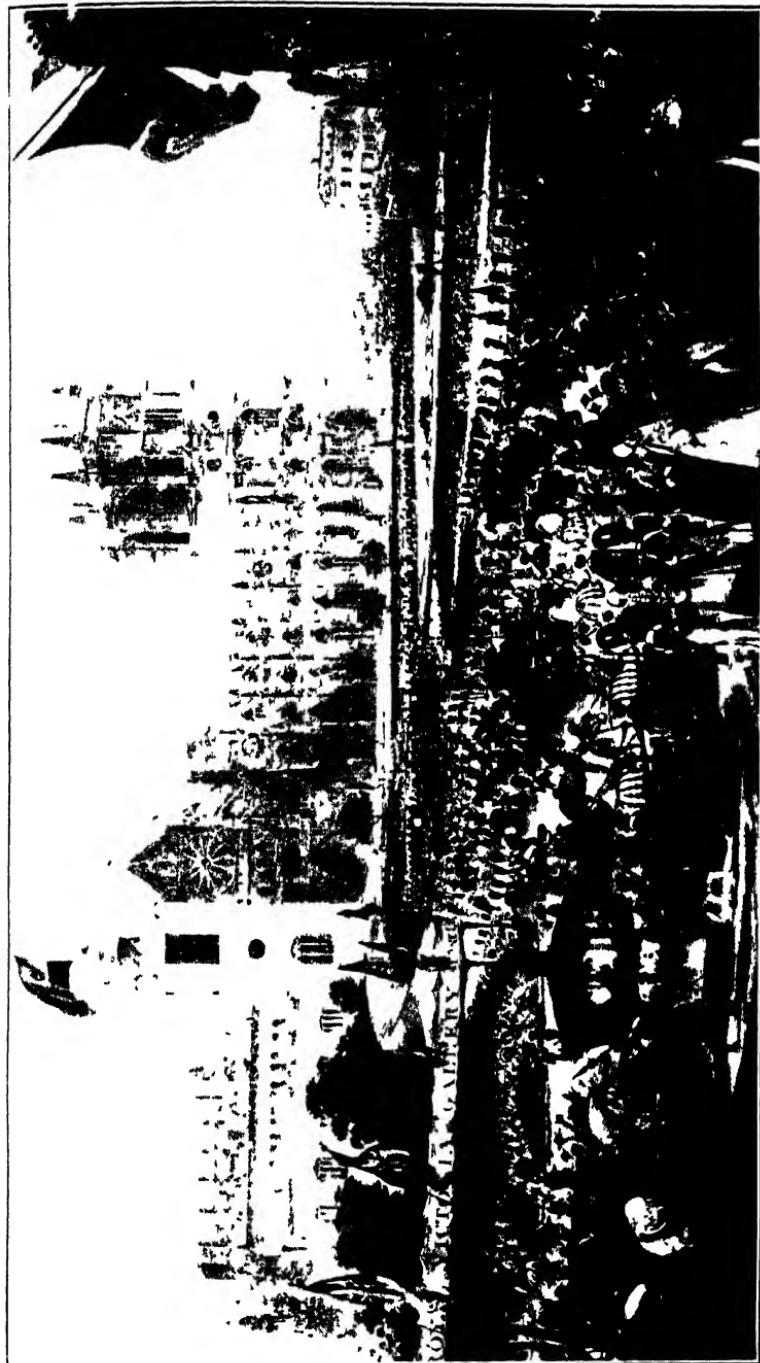
The argument which arises out of the hurly-burly was stated in a terse sarcasm by one of the Irish members. There were, he said, 7,000,000 Catholics in Ireland and 700,000 Protestants. Therefore the Catholics must not be town councillors, but they must pay tithes. Give me Municipal Corporations, O'Connell had told the Association, and I will soon get all the rest. Seen in this light the appointment of Mr. Pigot to be legal adviser to the Viceroy assumed a truly portentous significance. His career fully justified the choice ; Chief Baron Pigot, as he was to become, was one of the best lawyers in Ireland. But he was an active member of the Association ; the programme of the Association was Disendowment of the Church and Repeal of the Union ; the Government had capitulated to O'Connell and the Papists ; the Protestant religion was in danger. Agitation, which had swept away the Catholic disabilities in 1829, would take the field with

redoubled power. Then, when they had served his turn, O'Connell would throw the Whigs aside and unite with the Radicals. Already the banquet halls where the Association feasted and declaimed were decorated with Radical banners ; vote by ballot, extension of the suffrage, reform of the House of Lords. In all the eight nights of the Irish debate the one speech which, read at this distance of time, seems to rise above declamation into real eloquence was delivered by a Radical, Carlyle's pupil, the young and brilliant Charles Buller. " You tell us," he said, " that the concession of municipal corporations means the destruction of the Establishment. Give us, then, some reason why the Establishment should be maintained." But there was none ; it was the misfortune of the Conservative Party that it was committed to the support of an institution which could not be defended by argument or abandoned without dishonour. Hereditary Bondsmen of the Priesthood is not an argument. Minions of Popery is not an argument. Yet for want of better they had to serve.

But Radicalism itself was waning. The year before, Buller had gaily observed to a colleague : " I see what it is, Molesworth : very soon you and I will be left to tell Grote." The country was tired of agitation, and five Administrations in six years ; the £10 householder was not disposed to see his new privileges swamped in a fresh extension of the suffrage ; and, though moderate opinion was moving towards the ballot, it was moving reluctantly and with misgivings. To the English Radicals, the ballot was what Corporations were to the Irish : the first instalment, bringing all the others in sequence, until the Constitution had been remodelled on the lines of philosophic democracy. But between the obvious benefits of secret voting and its contingent and incalculable consequences, even liberally disposed men found it not easy to make up their minds. In the days of rotten boroughs, there was little intimidation of voters, because intimidation was superfluous. With the enlargement of the electorate it had become, especially in the smaller towns—and there were still boroughs with only two or three hundred voters—a serious mischief ; an elector who

could be put into the street for voting against his landlord or his customer was neither independent nor free. True, was the answer ; but do you really desire the electorate to be entirely independent of the educated and propertied class ? Remember, too, that the voters are acting virtually on behalf of a much larger unenfranchised class, who surely have the right to know how they cast their vote. Granted that some men now vote against their convictions, is not the example of the honest tradesman or yeoman who defies the consequences and follows his conscience of still greater importance in maintaining the spirit of independence ? Is not occasional tyranny, restrained as it is by public opinion, better than a constant watch on the voter's doings, his conversation, the meetings he attends, and the newspapers he reads ? You say that open voting allows the landlords to be bullies. We reply that the ballot will teach the landlords to be spies and the voters to be sneaks.

The ballot was under the special patronage of George Grote, banker and scholar, whose annual discourse on the subject was logically irrefutable. A generation later, when it had been conceded at last, his wife asked him whether he was not proud. His answer deserves to be remembered, for the Queen had few wiser subjects than the old historian. "I have come to perceive," he said, "that the choice between one man and another, among the English people, matters less than I used formerly to think it did. Take a section of society ; cut it through from top to bottom, and examine the composition of the successive layers. They are much alike throughout the scale. Take whatever class you will, the English mind is much of one pattern, and a House of Commons cannot afford to be above its own constituencies, in intelligence, in knowledge, or in patriotism." It was the weakness of the Radicals that they aspired to be, not only above the constituencies, but above Parliament itself in knowledge and intelligence ; naturally above the Tories, whom everybody acknowledged to be the stupid party—"poor, poor Bashaw," Lord Dudley was once heard murmuring to his dog : "thou hast not an immortal soul, and Sir Thomas Lethbridge has"—but also above the Whigs,



THE CORONATION PROCESSION OF QUEEN VICTORIA IN PARLIAMENT SQUARE
Reproduced from an engraving of C. Smith, published in 1838.



QUEEN VICTORIA WITH THE PRINCE CONSORT AND PRINCE ARTHUR
(now the Duke of Connaught), to whom the Duke of Wellington is presenting a
birthday present (After Winterhalter)



QUEEN VICTORIA AND THE PRINCE CONSORT
A photograph taken towards the end of the life of the Prince Consort

who could never be got to see that the ballot must be granted if the Reform Act was to yield its full effect, and the whole body of enlightened opinion brought to bear on Parliament. But by Whig doctrine not less than Tory, Parliament was meant to represent, not public opinion as an indistinguishable mass, but rather the several chief interests of the country ; land, commerce, industry, with an acknowledged leaning towards the land as the stablest element in the social structure. Between this view and the Radical conception of Parliament as the organ of the actual numerical majority in the country at any moment, no accommodation was possible. "Therefore," said Roebuck, "speaking openly and calmly, well knowing the consequences, being neither hurried nor confused, I say the Whigs have deceived the people."

In politics, at all events, and perhaps in life, it is not so important to be right as to be right at the proper time. In their conception of public efficiency : in their notions of Imperial self-government, national education, and local administration, the Radicals were too far ahead of their age to be listened to, and they were becoming embittered by disappointment. At no time, perhaps, in the whole of the past century do we hear so much resentment, so much impatience, over the proceedings of Parliament and the make-believe of the party game. The early writings of Dickens and Carlyle are charged with the disaffection bred by the wearying spectacle of two aristocratic factions divided only by political animosity and united in their resistance to organic change. If the Lords threw out the main measure of the Session, the Irish Corporations Bill, would the Whigs show fight ? Every one knew they would not. The Lords did not throw it out. They only postponed it till they had the rest of the Government's Irish legislation—Poor Law and Tithes—before them. As they were not forthcoming, the Corporations Bill lapsed. Another Session and still nothing done ; and on their second measure, an ingenious device for abolishing Church rates by forming a fund out of the rents of Bishops' lands, the Government majority had fallen to five.

But the most useful legislation is not always that which occupies most time in Parliament, and this seemingly

ineffectual Session has to its credit a measure which removed one of the ugliest blots on our national life. The shadow of the gallows is so dark on the pages of early Victorian literature that it is with surprise we read that in England and Wales in 1836 there were only 17 executions. But there were nearly 500 death sentences. In practice, the extreme penalty was only exacted for murder, or, very rarely, for robbery or murderous assault with aggravating circumstances. One such case was still fresh in memory, and, translated into fiction, is not likely soon to be forgotten. By New Year's Day in 1837, his twenty-fifth birthday not yet reached, Dickens was a classic from Calcutta to the Mississippi : and in March, to a public which was debating the Poor Law in all its bearings, he opened the story of Oliver Twist, the work-house boy. From the workhouse he carried his readers swiftly to that academy for young thieves which the police had shortly before discovered in London, and its professor and proprietor, who, after reference to the Privy Council, had been duly sent to execution. Under the criminal law as reformed in 1837, though Bill Sikes could still have been hanged, Fagin could only have been transported. Six measures introduced by Lord John Russell brought the law into conformity with its practice and with public opinion, and delivered the Courts from the odious mummary of passing sentences which no one expected to be executed. The horror of public hangings remained for another thirty years.

The Irish Corporations Bill gave its last gasp in the Lords on June 8. If the King lived a few months longer, it seemed more than likely that, from mere exhaustion or a Radical revolt, the Whigs would be defeated, Peel would get his dissolution, and the Tories would return to office. But, as the law then stood, on a demise of the Crown a new Parliament had to be summoned, and King William died before the liberal impetus of 1830 was quite spent in the constituencies. The feelings of the young Queen were believed to be with the Whigs : she was thought to have a will of her own : and the notion that the Crown should possess a directing and even an initiating voice in the Government was still current, not only among

the ignorant. When in 1834 William IV, taking advantage of Melbourne's nonchalance, had dismissed his Whig Ministers and sent Hudson posting across Europe to bring Peel back from Rome, the prerogative so intemperately exercised had almost broken in his hands : almost, not quite. That Ministers are given by Parliament to the Crown, not by the Crown to Parliament, was a doctrine established in the course of Victoria's reign, not fully accepted at its opening. There was no stouter Radical in Parliament than Joseph Hume, the economist. Yet he spoke openly in the House of the strength afforded to the Government by the favour of the Sovereign. Two years later, so sound a Whig as Macaulay could speak to a Scottish audience of an Administration strong in the support of the Crown ; though so candid an observer certainly could not claim that it was strong in anything else. The last four years of the Whig Administration were to be years of ignominy and gloom. Like a once popular individual, the last thing a once popular party ever realizes is that it has begun to be a bore.

The transference of the Crown from an elderly, undignified, and slightly crazy sailor to a girl endowed with remarkable self-possession and much force of character could hardly be without its picturesque circumstances ; and the early morning visit of the Archbishop and the Lord Chamberlain to Kensington, to the palace in a garden, brought a waft of Arcadia into the close and dusty air which seems congenial to the House of Brunswick. But there were other circumstances less agreeable. There was the immediate question of the succession ; the heir presumptive, Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, bore, whether justly or not, a character more odious than any other member of his family ; and he opened his reign as King of Hanover by suspending the Constitution of his kingdom. He was known to be an Orangeman, he was popularly believed to be a murderer, and, if the Queen happened to die childless, it was doubtful whether England would accept him as King, and almost certain that Ireland would not.

There was the Duchess of Kent, too, and Sir John Conroy, to be disposed of ; and disposed of they were. There was the Civil List also. The financial entanglements

of George III and his family were notorious, and it was difficult to make a new start without ripping up the old scandal of the pension list. Following the example of 1831, the Royal income was relieved entirely from all charges, such as the salaries of judges and ambassadors, more properly falling on the public, and the hereditary revenues were made over to the State. But the Queen retained her revenues as Duchess of Lancaster, and as trustee for the Duke of Cornwall when one should be born ; and they were believed, in spite of much mismanagement, to be large. To grant a Civil List for a life which might witness great changes in the cost of living seemed improvident : to grant it for a period of years seemed to betray a want of confidence in the Sovereign. And why the Queen's mother should receive £30,000 a year and two houses rent free it was not easy to see. The whole business was uneasy and unpleasant, and the words with which the Speaker presented the Civil List Bill for the Royal Assent might be taken as a rebuke to the Queen's ancestors or as a warning to herself. "In making provision," he said, "for the support of the dignity and honour of the Crown, we have acted in a liberal and confiding spirit, trusting that that which has been freely granted, will be so administered as to conciliate the favour and command the respect of your Majesty's people." They are not courtly words. But between Liberals who had no veneration for the office, and Conservatives who had no affection for the person, of the Sovereign, the atmosphere surrounding the Monarchy at the death of King William was dry, bleak, and critical : and, beyond the natural if superficial popularity that any girl of eighteen in a novel position will command, for the Queen herself there was little feeling of any kind. Only in Ireland was she for a short while the object of a vague and rapturous hope ; at the election in August the ballad singers were almost as busy with the Queen as with O'Connell, and the resounding emphasis with which the Liberator took the Oath of Allegiance at the Table did not go unobserved at Court.

From our safe distance in time we can now see that, of the two main attributes which the Constitution assigns

to the Crown, its impartial elevation and its unifying symbolism, one was determined by the prudence and careful conduct of Prince Albert, the other by the natural course of history. The Queen began her reign with the unfortunate idea in her stubborn little head that H.M. Opposition was the Opposition to her Majesty. "I hope to God," she wrote, "that the elections will be favourable": if they had gone wrong she would have taken her first steps under the tutelage of Peel, so shy and awkward; and of the Duke, whose deafness ensured that his observations, though always to the point, were not always to the point under discussion. But the elections went right: though England returned a Conservative majority, the Government were 20 or 30 ahead. The Radicals sustained some awkward losses: Roebuck was out for four years; Grote barely scraped in; Westminster, Middlesex, Liverpool, Hull, all went Tory; and Hume had to borrow a seat from O'Connell. At the opening of the Session, Lord John boldly defied them: there was to be no Ballot and no extension of the Suffrage. "Is this a coalition?" someone asked. "I know nothing of any coalition," he answered; but the historic parties were essentially in accord, and, call it coalition or not, the demand for constitutional change was to be resisted to the uttermost, whether it was urged by Radicals in the House, or more dangerously by the working classes out of doors.

Already that dark cloud of misery which hangs so heavy over the early Victorian years was rising in the West. For a while the impending depression had been concealed by the bustle of the new railroads and their demand for equipment and labour. The glory of the road, which shines for us in some of the most winning pages of our literature, the ringing hoofs, the ample hostelries, the iris-tinted rounds of beef, and the wayside gardens that welcomed the returning exile, were fading; and the white pennon was already flying across the countryside. Those who chose to avert their eyes from the handloom weavers and the sight of a famous industry perishing, might say without much exaggeration in 1836 that there was work for all who sought it; and the New Poor Law,

by abolishing outdoor relief for the able-bodied, had certainly made them more eager to find it, even if it was only work on a Dorset farm at 8s. a week, or else in a factory, to which children might be carried sleeping in their fathers' arms through the sleet of a winter morning. But there were signs that the years of abundance were ending ; there were doubts whether the banks would stand the strain of a long depression, or the Poor Law carry the burden of widespread unemployment and its own unpopularity.

The first overt token of impending trouble was the failure of the Agricultural Bank of Ireland in the autumn of 1836. Shortly afterwards the Bank of England had to come to the rescue of the Northern and Central of Manchester. Simultaneously, over-trading, land speculation, and a mismanaged currency were drawing the United States to the verge of financial collapse, while the competition for American business was bringing enormous quantities of unsecured American paper on to the London market. Again the Bank of England had to come forward, this time to save the accepting houses and moderate the volume of American bills, and the repercussion on America was so violent that in April every bank in the Union suspended payment. The Bank had let its reserves run dangerously low ; gold was expected from America, and no gold came. But the warning shiver passed, with no general stoppage or widespread bankruptcy. By the end of the summer the country seemed to have righted itself and economists could analyse the cause of the crisis and learn its lessons. They were obtrusively plain ; at home, the over-issue of notes and credit by the provincial banks—it was about this time that the habit of paying by cheque took hold of us ; in foreign trade, the abuse of open credits and accommodation bills ; in both, over-trading and speculation. In these discussions the lines of Peel's Bank Act of 1843 were drawn. The separation of the Issuing and Banking Departments, and the limitation of the fiduciary issue, had come to be generally accepted as the proper defence against financial distress.

The commercial and industrial ebb and flow of the world was of greater range than could be brought within

any formula, unless it were that England should be the workshop of the world, and the rest of the world her customer. But the customer must be kept in funds, and the funds could only be provided by sales in the English market ; of produce generally, of food in particular. Therefore—and, from the point of view of the industrialist, the argument is irresistible—whatever protection our laws gave to home-grown food must be abolished ; or only so much left as would give the landowner a fair set-off against the Poor Rate and other charges to which landed property was subject and industrial property was not. Between protection, under the sliding scale of 1828, and free trade, there was this middle way, the fixed duty on corn. But whether, without protection, the land could be kept in cultivation ; and to what state England would be reduced if to occasional unemployment in the towns there was added a vast and permanent unemployment of the rural population, these were questions which had to be faced even if they could not be answered.

But what of the people who spun, and wove ; who hammered the steel, and mined the coal which turned the wheels of the workshop ; who were outside the electorate of 1832, and clamouring, some of them very loudly, to be let in ; whose discontent sometimes relieved itself in strikes, sometimes in riots ; whose savage industry was a wonder, and almost a terror, to strangers from the leisurely South ; that Other Nation whose habits and customs, science, armed with the new instrument of statistics, was beginning to register and explore ? The British Association, meeting at Liverpool in August, found itself discussing the state of education in Bolton, Manchester, Liverpool, and York ; the housing and domestic condition of six cotton towns and Bristol ; wages in Nottingham during a depression ; the causes, progress, and cost of the Preston strike ; the relation between literacy and crime ; the extent of juvenile delinquency. That the assembled scientists were deeply moved, and that the newspapers did not care to publish all the figures, we can believe and understand. But the final impression, on us and perhaps on them, is rather one of utter helplessness. There was no lack of genuine good will, made the more

active in many minds by an equally genuine alarm. The contrast of affluence and misery was more than heart-breaking, it was terrifying. But where were they to begin?

Sooner or later all reformers came round to the belief that the one fundamental and remediable mischief was the lack of any system for educating the children of the poor. From this followed, in the first place, a fearful volume of juvenile crime ; at any moment there were in the prisons of England and Wales about 12,000 youthful prisoners, some 2,000 being children under 12, committed or imprisoned for offences from larceny of a coconut upwards, and herded very often with old and hardened sinners. Unchecked and unreformed, they grew up to form the underworld of London and the great towns ; to join the army of vagrants always on the tramp ; to add their brutality to whatever agitation might be in progress. Somewhat higher were those who went from their beds, often in a cellar, to the brickfields or the gas-works, thence to the ginshop, from the ginshop back to the cellar, and knew no other life. Above them were the workpeople in the staple industries, for whom the hope of self-dependence was not altogether a delusive one ; rising towards the Respectable Working Classes, whose women-folk, at least, went to church or more often to chapel, who were careful with their wages, drank not, smoked not, enrolled themselves in mechanics' institutes and did not marry till they could afford it. Always that Malthusian shadow of over-population, surplus labour, low wages, misery, famine, and fever haunted the minds of reformers, and shaped their ideals ; the little house, if bare, yet clean ; the little garden ; money in the savings bank ; and the children at school. All over England there were villages and small industrial towns under the eye of a resident master, where to a hopeful eye the ideal seemed to be taking body. But when that eye turned to the immense and shapeless growths of the Black Country, or explored the hardly human horror of Glasgow or Seven Dials, even complacency was silent.

To plough unflinchingly through the world of labour, throwing the surplus population, or, as we should say, the

unemployed, into the new workhouses, and keeping them there in a state of reasonable discomfort until there were jobs for them outside, or ships, perhaps, to take them to Canada, was the formula to which the Poor Law Commissioners were bent on giving effect. Some of them might quail before the loud and bitter resentment which their doings, in particular their insistence on the separation of aged couples, provoked, and of which John Walter, proprietor of *The Times*, made himself the spokesman. Their secretary, Edwin Chadwick, quailed at nothing, and all over southern England, where the mischief of the old Poor Law had sunk deepest, his drastic surgery was commended by its results. But north of Trent, where the bread and children scale had not made its way, and the working population had kept some sense of independence, there, and in Birmingham and in the Black Country, the oscillations of employment were determined not by the seasons or the abundance or shortage of harvests, but by the markets, distant and uncontrollable, of the Continent, of America, of the Far East. Early in 1837 the lace trade of Nottingham suddenly collapsed, mainly for want of American buyers. The Poor Law formula, brought to the test, failed completely when applied to an industrial population, and, in the teeth of the economists, the authorities of Nottingham fell back on public works. But what would happen if the depression returned and deepened all over the North ; if the political agitation for the ballot, short Parliaments, and an extended franchise was reinforced and embittered by the cry for food ; if the Midlands, which had mustered 200,000 strong in defence of the Reform Bill, mustered again for a more radical reform—these, too, were questions to which no man could give an answer, but which no thoughtful man could for long keep out of his mind.

The opposition to the Poor Law was partly constitutional and partly humanitarian. There was no precedent for the exercise by a Government Department, and one, moreover, not represented in Parliament, of such extensive powers of regulation and control. The orders of the Commissioners had in effect the force of law, and the elected guardians were little more than the

agents of an irresponsible central board. That the new administration often caused great hardship, especially to the aged poor, was scarcely to be denied. But in defence of the principle of the Act were ranged all the economists and names of the greatest weight in Parliament, and it was reasonable to ask that a law supported by Peel and Graham for the Conservatives, Roebuck and Hume for the Radicals, should be given its fair run. Nor were the humanitarians all on one side. Against the humanity of sentiment was arranged a sterner, more stoical, but certainly not less generous, philanthropy, willing to accept or overlook some passing harshness and suffering if the end was to restore and maintain the self-respect and self-dependence of the poor. Many of the controversies of our own day first make themselves heard in the assault and defence of the New Poor Law: the relations between Whitehall and the local authorities, the possibilities of industrial migration, the argument for and against public works, the account to be taken of savings in apportioning relief. Earl Stanhope, proclaiming the right of the unemployed man to maintenance in full comfort, seems to have strayed into the wrong century and the wrong House.

Not very willingly the Government granted a Committee of Inquiry into the working of the Act. It is the age of inquiry and of experiments in the method of inquiry, and the cost of investigation was becoming a substantial item in the Budget and a standing complaint against the Government. Three agencies were available. The Poor Law Commissioners, with their thirty-nine Assistant Commissioners and an admirably organized office, were better equipped for the purpose than any other Government Department. The Act itself had been prepared after inquiry by a Royal Commission, and for topics of some magnitude this model was preferred. But the traditional mechanism was a Select Committee of the House of Commons, usually fifteen in number, and often most perfunctorily attended; in 1837 eighteen such committees were sitting on matters ranging from aborigines to salmon fishing. It was not an efficient mechanism, and an honourable member who moved for a Select Committee

to discover why the trains were late on the Birmingham and Liverpool Railway came near to reducing it to absurdity.

But neither was Parliament itself so efficient as the country had a right to expect. The last Session of King William's Parliament lasted eighty-eight sitting days. On one the Commons went home for want of a quorum ; on seven they were counted out. Government business took twenty-eight days. The new House, which met in November, with 158 novices on the benches, seemed likely to waste even more time and achieve even fewer results. Lord John made an appeal for greater regularity of business, and carried an amendment of the standing orders, securing three nights for the Government and a restriction of private members' motions. The back benchers never welcome a curtailment of their rights or their speeches, and a little revolt, of no consequence in itself, is worth recording for one circumstance. D'Israeli went into the lobby with Gladstone, and a mixed gathering of unbending Radicals and stern Tories, against Russell and Peel. But, as long experience should by now have taught us, the efficiency of the House rests ultimately on good will and a good Speaker, and in 1837 tempers were as acrid as the Speaker was feeble. The election had left O'Connell and his tail in a commanding position in the House, and a group known as the Spottiswoode gang, and headed by old Burdett, once the people's champion, and now as sound a Tory as ever sat, were collecting funds to contest as many Irish returns as possible and so wear the Irish majority down. An unlucky novice, little Mr. Blewitt, of Monmouth, rose on December 6 to call attention to their proceedings. "What qualifications," he modestly asked, "have I, a young and inexperienced member, to put myself forward thus prominently in the face of my country?" Long before Mr. Blewitt, by way of Coke, Blackstone, a quotation from Lucretius, and our Virgin Queen in the springtide and blossom of her maiden intellect, had reached his resolution, the answer was obvious and the House was in hysterics. The next day the Speaker offered his resignation as no longer enjoying the confidence of the Commons. The warning should have

been enough. But the storm awoke again, and another novice, no better advised than Mr. Blewitt, rashly ventured to encounter it. What followed is still remembered, and will be remembered as long as English history is read. In the words of Hansard, the impatience of the House would not allow the honourable member to finish his speech, and during the greater part of the time the honourable member was on his legs he was so much interrupted that it was impossible to hear what he said. In all Hansard there is no such entry after or before, and the speaker was Benjamin D'Israeli, twice Prime Minister.

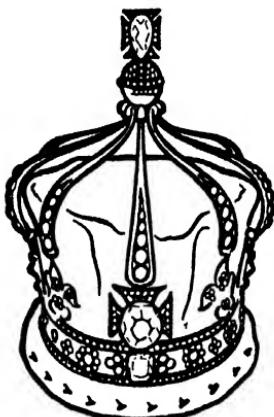
The theme was still the Irish elections, expanding in debate over the whole topic of contested returns and petitions. At the General Election in August there were 210 contests, and sixty-seven results were challenged. By the law as it then was each case had to go to a separate Committee of the House, and it was notorious that these committees were party bodies, bent on getting their man returned. Two years later Macaulay met Goulburn, who was to be Peel's Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the Mediterranean. Goulburn was abusing Election Committees as most partial and unfair. "You really think so, Mr. Goulburn?" "Most decidedly." "Then," said Macaulay, "I cannot help thinking that it was rather hard to pass a vote of censure on O'Connell for saying so." It is easy now to see that the remedy for what every one in secret acknowledged to be disgrace to public life was the transference of petitions from the House to the Judges. But such a surrender of ancient privileges was hardly to be thought of then, especially at a moment when the House had already involved itself in a contest with the Law Courts, which a satirist might have staged to bring Parliament into contempt. The Inspectors of Prisons, investigating Newgate, reported that the inmates were found solacing their leisure with the perusal of an obscene book, with plates, issued by one Stockdale; the report was laid, and in the usual course ordered to be printed by Hansard. Stockdale, conceiving his character as a publisher and a man to be at stake, took proceedings against Hansard for libel. On the question of obscenity he lost his first case, but Denman, Lord Chief Justice, who seven years later

was to protect O'Connell from the vindictive pursuit of the Irish Government, ruled in the plainest language that if a man libelled another in his business it was no defence to say that a third party had bidden him to do it, even though that party was the House of Commons. Stockdale bought another copy of the peccant report and renewed his proceedings. This time he won and was awarded £100 damages. Having discovered this easy way of adding to his income there seemed no reason why Stockdale should not pursue it so long as copies of the Report were to be purchased, and for nearly four years the public was entertained by the spectacle of the Commons spasmodically vindicating their privileges by committing an obscure printer to Newgate, along with his clerk and his attorney, for conduct which Queen's Bench had declared to be lawful.

It was well that with a Government so weak, in Parliament and in the country, the foreign outlook was peaceful. Over the Continent the skies were clear, though the advance of Russia in the Caucasus needed careful watching. But across the Atlantic all was not so well, and the first Session of Victoria's first Parliament was adjourned to strains of such eloquence as had not been heard for sixty years when the North American colonies were in revolt, and was not to be heard again till, more than sixty years later, the Cape Colony was in revolt. "This Government," said Leader, "will be held up to execration as the men who plunged England into a disastrous war to punish a colony which, by their own incompetence, injustice, and misgovernment they had forced into open rebellion." "If war ensues," Molesworth followed, "may speedy victory crown the efforts of the Canadians, and may the curses of the Empire light on the heads of those Ministers who involve us in civil discord, and expend our national resources in an unholy struggle against liberty." In plainer language, the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada had refused to vote the supplies, and the Home Government by Order in Council had suspended the Constitution of 1791 and authorized the Governor to collect the taxes without their consent; the French had risen, or were rising, under Louis Papineau. The analogy was striking;

CROWN AND EMPIRE

the precedent ominous. The American packet commonly took nineteen days to cross from New York, and when Parliament rose, two days before Christmas, 1837, to reassemble on January 10, few members who knew their history could feel confident that they would not meet to decide whether Canada was to be reconquered or abandoned. A dark ending to the year ; a dark opening of the Imperial reign.



DRESS IN 1837

BY NORAH RICHARDSON

THE costume of 1837 is beginning to mark, for women at any rate, a parting of the ways, a divergence between those two R's—Romanticism and Respectability—which for some 60 years roughly dominated the nineteenth century. Women still dressed with an eye for the novels of Sir Walter Scott or the scenes of a Meyerbeer opera. They still remembered the great historical festivities of the twenties and the early thirties. And they still bought "Amy Robsart" satin for their ball gowns, and wore about their necks the little *lorgnon* of that most romantic of European Royalties, the Duchesse de Berri. Like their men-folk, they had not yet missed the Renaissance touch which Romanticism had brought into every art, from literature to the wearing of clothes.

Waists were now in the position assigned to them by Nature, but were worn tight, 20 inches or thereabouts. The bodice-line was usually "heart-shaped," with, wherever possible, a generous display of bust and shoulder, and lace and other trimmings concentrated attention on the upper part of the figure. Below the waist-line, which was generally round, though sometimes pointed *à la Sévigné*, skirts flowed to the ankles in a circumference of about three yards at the hem. They were no longer trimmed with heavy padding but with light flounces or a simple diagonal line of ruching or embroidery. All was supported upon short corsets, starched petticoats, and a small feather-stuffed bustle, and finished off by heel-less, square-toed sandals, ribbon-tied, or cloth-topped *bottines*.

Wide sleeves balanced the still widening skirts. And women's heads were laden with feathers of ostrich or marabout, which nodded from the hat and bonnet by day,

and from the turban (still correct for the older woman), the opera hat, the toque, and the cap by night. Their abundance was itself a direct heritage from Romanticism, for they were indeed the white Ivry plumes of Henri Quatre, reintroduced into fashion by the restored Bourbons after 1815.

Yet both heads and shoulders were in 1837 beginning to sober. The swansdown cushions and whalebone stiffeners which had once filled out the huge *gigots* were no longer "in good taste," and sleeve fullness drooped softly, or started low on the arm so as to set off the shoulders. The proportions of the bonnet, too, were growing almost reasonable. No longer could a lady's lover, as in the early thirties, conceal himself in her bonnet-box ; and the bonnet-brims were beginning to curve downwards to the chin-line with an unwonted suggestion of modesty and discretion. Lace veils, falling from bonnet to bust, were also tentatively appearing, but were not to become universally fashionable until the demurer forties. Old ladies, as in the society of *Cranford*, still wore the green eighteenth-century calash. And younger ones protected their complexions with hinged "pagoda" parasols.

Materials were simple rather than rich ; muslins and nankin silks and chintzes, as well as the *gros de Naples* and cashmeres, or the ethereal tulles for evening wear, which, combined with little pink rosebuds, could do no wrong. Aprons, of black silk, embroidered, or of patterned cotton, were correct indoors. And most outdoor coverings had a certain heaviness, respectable rather than romantic. The shawl was worn soberly, folded square. "Mantelets" and "pelerines" had long, disproportionately weighted ends. Pelisses, or "redingotes" with preposterous revers, concealed the dress completely. And the new "peasant fichu," severely folded, yet again suggested modesty and refinement. Only an occasional jaunty spencer, or a fur-trimmed Polish Witzchoura, recalled the romantic past.

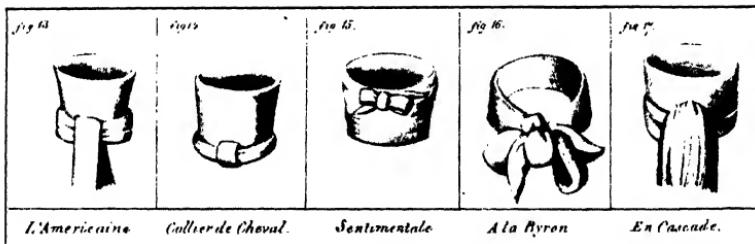
Yet in detail after detail clothes bore the imprint of Romanticism. Riding habits were still green ; the little Duchesse de Berri's green, the green of the army of La



The elaborate evening dresses in vogue at the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign



A fashion-plate showing suitable clothes for Longchamps in 1837



GRAVATS IN FASHION WHEN QUEEN VICTORIA CAME TO THE THRONE



TWO FASHION PLATES OF THE EIGHTEEN-THIRTIES
At this period the bonnets were much smaller than those in fashion a few years before

Vendée. And with them went a tiny Bourbon ruff, and—a very “dashing” detail—slim white pantalettes, strapped underneath the ankles. Otherwise, of course, pantalettes were left to little girls, who wore them uncompromisingly straight and wide below some tight-waisted, wide-shouldered version of grown-up dress. Costume phraseology, too, had not in 1837 learned the adjectives “refined” or “ladylike,” and every style was named after some romantic figure, not always necessarily reputable. Never was there such a welter of corsages *à la Ninon*, *belle esclave* turbans, Montespan fans, smoothly parted hair *à la Reine Blanche*, and jewelled forehead-bands *à la belle Ferronièr*e; nor of loose side ringlets, clustering indiscriminately *à la Vallière*, *à la Fontanges*, or *à la Mancini*. Later Victorianism was to approve both the ringlets and the parting; but it would deeply have shocked the Victorian woman to have named her *coiffure* after either the Duchesse de la Vallière or Mademoiselle de Fontanges. It is the measure of difference between her and the woman of 1837 that the latter was still romantic rather than respectable, and honest enough to know it.

But if women’s dress in this way represented a period of transition, still more pathetically was this true of men’s, which was henceforward to move away from elegance and grace and colour, until these encountered their death-blow in the drab standardization of the sixties. The man of 1837 represents, indeed, something of the last flare of Romanticism. His dress convictions were based on a sincere belief, expressed almost with Renaissance frankness, in the importance of a “fine shape”—good shoulders, slender waist and hips, a well-turned leg. And upon this basis of a well-made, well-displayed body were set trappings in every detail still romantic. Old gentlemen might wear the breeches and gaiters—or, like Mr. Pickwick, the tights and gaiters—of an earlier day. Not so the man of fashion. His morning wear was infinite in its variety: a richly flowered dressing-gown, worn with a soft velvet cap in the familiar manner of Mr. Mantalini; a cutaway of black satin, pink-faced, and with pale blue trousers; or a combination-like garment of checked silk, the legs continuing into feet, like stockings, and the waist tied

with a crimson sash. From this starting-point he changed into dress for the day. He walked most usually in a "frock," the name applied both to the waisted coat with full skirts, double or single breasted, and to the more elegant cutaway with tails. This was velvet-collared, and of green, blue, maroon, or any attractive colour, worn with a waistcoat of flowered silk or shawl-patterned cashmere. The shirt was cambric, frilled and finely goffered, its cuffs turned back outside the coat-sleeve. The silk cravat (the tying of which was still a fine art) was generally black, maroon, or plaid. And upon shirt, cravat, and waistcoat was displayed rich and important jewelry—long gold watchchains, heavy double scarf-pins, or gem-set buttons.

Trousers were pleated at the waist, and narrowed from the knees to fourteen-inch bottoms, strapped under the ankle, and sometimes completely covering the front of the boot. Frequently the wearer could not sit down in them, and had to recline in a graceful unbending slope. They were usually in pale kerseymere, white or lavender, and sometimes in buck or mole skin. In 1837 the "railroad trouser" was coming in, with stripes both perpendicular and horizontal. Shepherd's plaid, however, had been unfashionable since 1832, when the political caricaturists had made too much play with the check nether garments of Lord Brougham.

Over these clothes there went in cold weather a "surtout," or stouter full-skirted frock; a short, round pilot coat; a "redingote" with huge revers like a woman's; a pelisse; or a waisted greatcoat which gave its wearer the familiar lines of a Noah's Ark figure. Hats, both silk and straw, were of the "topper" variety, high and narrow. Riding-coats were skirted, well sloped over the hips. And for sport a man could wear a complete outfit in indiarubber, baggy breeches and gaiters cut all in one, or more ordinary clothing with leather leggings above the knee.

Young gentlemen dressed in round blue jackets, rather of the Eton cut, white ducks, strapped under the ankles, and white neck-frills. The smaller boy endured some

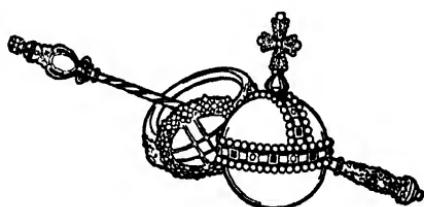
DRESS IN 1837

terrible combinations of men's and women's fashions, such as plaid pantaloons, a frilled blouse, and a plaid cloth fichu.

But the most romantic creations of 1837 were those for evening and the opera. Here the open frock had "lapels very broad to exhibit the bust and give great effect to a well-formed gentleman," and ran slimly away into tails. It was usually of fine, dark cloth, blue, maroon, or green, with silk revers, hand embroidered. The shirt-frill was lace-edged or completely of lace ; and the flowered waistcoat had to be white or of the very palest shade, with a white or black silk cravat. Evening pantaloons were actually tights, made of rich cream silk, "very close to the shape," buttoned at the ankles, and worn with silk stockings with embroidered clocks. A cocked *chapeau bras* was carried ; and the wrap was either a military overcoat or a Byronic mantle of purple cloth.

Hair in especial was essentially romantic. For the most part Antinous curls were thickly bunched at the sides ; but poetic locks sometimes drooped to the coat-collar, and the short beards and side-whiskers, when worn, were exquisitely curled. Even the brushed-up pyramid in front, copied from the *toupet* of Louis-Philippe, had not yet actually gone out. There is a hint of it in the *coiffure* of Mr. Tracy Tupman.

In fact in 1837 for the man of taste, as for the woman of fashion, whatever difficulties life might from time to time present, dress at least was invariably *couleur de rose*.



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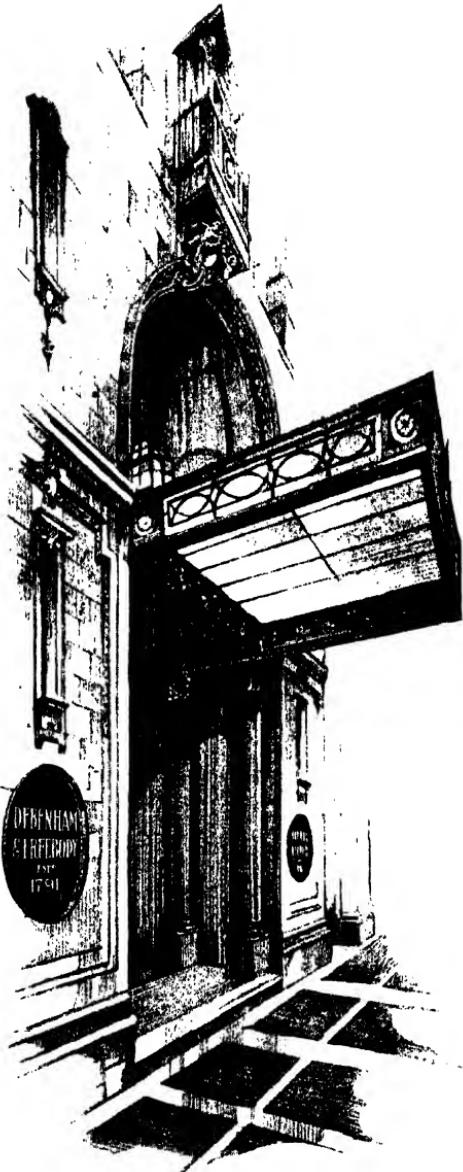
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THE ROYAL FAMILY AND THE R.S.P.C.A.

By *CAPTAIN FERGUS MacCUNN*
CHIEF SECRETARY R.S.P.C.A.

The R.S.P.C.A. is, in more ways than one, a "Royal Society." It is honoured by the patronage of His Majesty the King and by the prefix "Royal" (first granted by Queen Victoria in 1840). The Society was saved from extinction in the most critical period of its history through the intervention of two members of the Royal Family, the youthful Princess Victoria and her mother, the Duchess of Kent.

It was in 1835, at a time when cruelty to animals was the general rule in England, that the Princess Victoria and the Duchess of Kent showed their disapproval of cruelty by becoming patrons of the Society; in doing so they gave immediate and lasting aid to the animals' cause.

To appreciate that fact one must bear in mind the difficulties with which the Society had had to contend since its formation in 1824.

The general public had refused to support the Society, which was soon in monetary difficulties. At one time the Founder, the Rev. Arthur Broome, was imprisoned for the Society's debts; on another occasion the Committee, in despair, almost gave up their task and dissolved the Society.

It must be remembered that at that time cruelty to all animals, other than cattle and horses, was not punishable by law. Dogs, cats, and other animals could be tortured and ill-used in any way that their owners pleased; no legal offence was committed.

Thus, dogs were made to draw heavily laden carts. Even pet dogs were cruelly ill-treated. Fashion decreed that the ears of pug dogs should be shaved away to give the dogs' heads a round appearance.

At one of the meetings of the Society at this time a speaker referred to that "detestable race—the cat skinners." The speaker had in mind the people who made a living by stealing cats, skinning them alive, and selling the skins. It was thought that a live cat could be skinned more easily than a dead one. There was no law by which such abominable cruelty could be stopped. Neither was there any law forbidding bull-baiting, bear-baiting, dog-fighting, &c., &c.

In 1835 the Society drafted a Bill for the protection of all domestic animals. The fact that the Society had recently received the patronage of the country's future Queen was undoubtedly in the minds of our legislators when they were called upon to consider the measure, which became law on the 9th September, 1835. Previous efforts to obtain legislation for the benefit of animals had been treated with ridicule and scorn.

During her long reign Queen Victoria took a very keen interest in all the work of the Society.

Thus, in 1886 Lord Aberdare, the President, speaking at the Annual Meeting, said:—

"The Society does not possess a more active member than the Queen herself. Many things that escape less observant eyes attract her attention, and prove her to be a vigilant apostle of humanity."

Even in 1887, when the Queen was overwhelmed with the many additional duties relating to the celebration of Her Majesty's Jubilee, she found time to attend the Annual Meeting and Prize Distribution of the Society, and present one of the prizes herself; the Queen also gave her own portrait to each of the prizewinners.

The Prince and Princess of Wales (afterwards King Edward and Queen Alexandra) honoured the Society with their patronage in 1863.

King Edward was helpful to the Society in many ways. It was mainly through his efforts that the cruel custom of cropping the ears of dogs was finally abolished.

Queen Alexandra was always interested in the Society's campaign against cruelty, and on many occasions took an active part in aiding it. She was a life member of the Society.

In 1893, King George (then Duke of York) consented to be President of the Society in succession to Lord Aberdare, and in thus honouring the Society became its first Royal President.

In 1918, the Duke of Windsor (then the Prince of Wales) consented to become a Patron of the Society, and later in the year His Royal Highness further honoured the Society by accepting the office of President. In 1924, when the Society was celebrating its Centenary, the Prince of Wales presided at the Centenary Banquet. The King sent a message congratulating the Society upon the celebration of its Centenary and expressing his earnest wishes "that its noble and humane endeavours may for all time be crowned with success."

I have been able to refer only to some of the public support given by members of the Royal Family to the R.S.P.C.A. I am not at liberty to mention the many private occasions on which members of the Royal Family have shown their real interest in the task of preventing cruelty to animals. The Royal Family are, indeed, a family of animal lovers.

King George VI shows his continued interest in our work by being an annual subscriber. I respectfully suggest that all who have the welfare of animals at heart should follow His Majesty's example.

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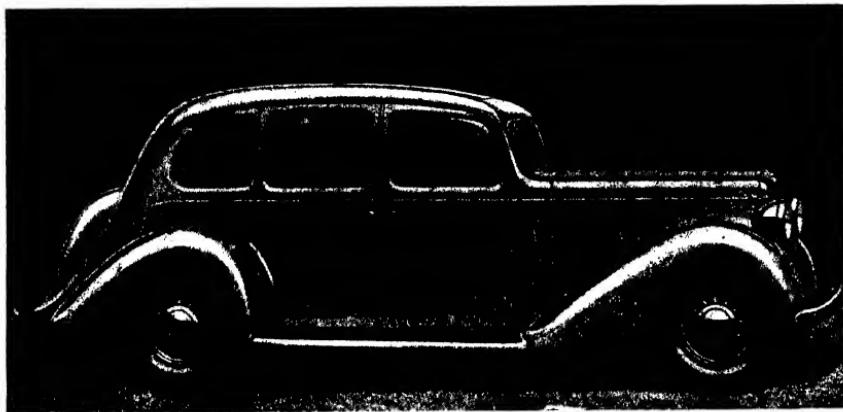
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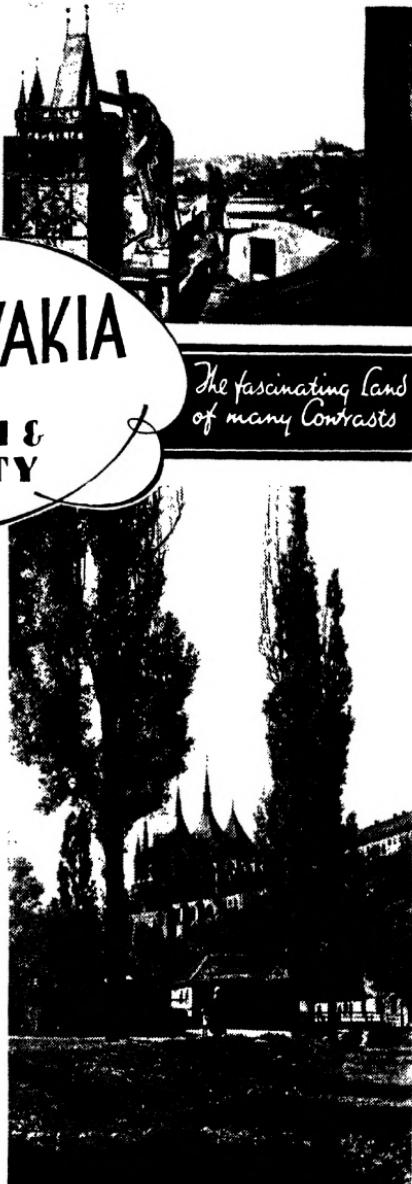
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